

PETER C. NEWMAN: HOW BOUCHARD REJECTED CANADA

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

OCTOBER 30, 1995 \$3.50

# Maclean's



## The CHOICE

REFERENDUM SPECIAL

New fear  
in the  
federalist  
camp

The passionate  
debate inside two  
Quebec families



Soon, you're the first.  
But no one listened.  
Then midnight struck and  
the virus was unleashed.  
People moaned and groaned  
in every house in the village,  
but too late.  
Without protection

you're hosed when a virus sneaks into your hard drive."

IBM's labs have a massive  
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Like father, like son.



The Motorola MacroTAC Ultra Lite™ has a legend to live up to. Over fifty years ago we defined durability with the SCR 530, the world's first hand-held wireless radio. Tough then, Tough now Motorola. The best-selling, most preferred cellular phones in the world.



**MOTOROLA**

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
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# CANADA WITHOUT QUEBEC

As the Oct. 30 Quebec referendum approaches, Canadians are starting to confront the unthinkable: A Yes vote for sovereignty is a possibility. In Ottawa, senior government officials have been drawing up contingency plans for approval by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in the event of a separatist victory. For the next week, the future of Canada hangs in the balance. A win by the separatists will be the end of one of the noble experiments in federation. It will produce years of chaos—political and psychic. Jobs will be lost, the standard of living will decline and, above all, everyone will feel derailed. A Yes vote means that Canada as we now define it will die. It does not have to be that way. Quebec's aspirations can be accommodated within Canada. And Canada without Quebec is not Canada. The best reasons are those first related in the human spirit. But first, consider those that are rooted in economic and financial reality.

**The dollar:** An independent Quebec likely would have to give up the relative assurance of using the Canadian dollar and seek to exert more control over its affairs—the rate of exchange for what it produces—by issuing its own currency. Otherwise, Quebec would be totally dependent on monetary policy set by the Bank of Canada. The history of shared currencies is bleak. When the Czech and Slovak republics separated peacefully in 1991, they agreed to joint participation over a central bank, but within six weeks, they were using different money.

**Trade:** An independent Quebec would not automatically become a member of NAFTA, as the separatists have claimed. As it is understood that much, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher signalled a turn in policy last week when he warned pointedly that a separate Quebec "shouldn't take for granted" that there will be "the same kind of ties."

**Territory:** One result of a Yes vote could be a nasty dispute over land. Both Blue Quebecers Lucien Bouchard and Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson have asserted that Quebec's main-line boundaries are irrevocable. But this week, both Quebec's Cree and Inuit, who lay claim to the province's resource-rich north, are staging referendums at their own and would refuse to be included as a separate Quebec. A fight between another and a separatist government over land could make the 18-day armed confrontation between Malawi and the government in Oka in the summer of 1990 look like a picnic.

**The rest of Canada:** One of the many outcomes of the current debate is that everyone outside Quebec has been induced to a ridiculous scenario—TRIO. And out here, at TRIO-head, there is a widely held view that the referendum is Quebec's problem. That is false. In the wake of a Yes vote and/or after a unilateral declaration of independence—such as the one the separatists have threatened if negotiations fails—there would certainly be a sharp drop in the value of the Canadian dollar. As for a negotiated move, TRIO would not allow a federal government, dominated as it now is by Quebecers, to do it. The state of paralysis could lead to a crisis the likes of which Canadians have never seen.

But a nation cannot be held together by threats and fear. If there has been one shining weakness in the federalist campaign it is the absence of poetry about what Canada means to all of its people, including Quebecers. Lucien Bouchard denigrates

that he is, has evoked the sense of grievance that many Quebecers felt about their treatment over the last referendum in 1980. What the federalists have lacked as a leader of the same charisma with a burning vision.

**A sense of place:** It starts with the land. The Bagneses, who tour Canada in six months each summer, best articulate one of the miracles of Canada—a sense of space and peace. We do not often wake our feelings for the land, but it makes our very being and desires rise as a people—from the so-called patchwork Quebecers who wanted it for more than 300 years to the new immigrants. It is more than the quiet notion that the Rockies belong to Quebecers and Albertans alike. It is that intangible sense that we all share a bigger sky somewhere that is larger than the sum of our inclusions and quarrelsome parts, a place that breathes and quenches our thirst and offers security against troubling forces.

**The people:** Anyone who has ever been thrilled by the exploits of Maurice (The Rocket) Richard, Myriam Bédard or Céline Dion, or was inspired by Pierre Elliott Trudeau or Robert LePage or Marc Gauthier, knows immediately how Quebecers have enriched all of our lives. In contrast to the days when Canadian opportunity was headed mainly to Anglo, the doors have now been opened to francophones to play a vital role on Canadian and world stages. There are no federal government positions to which a bilingual French Canadian cannot aspire. And in the world of business, Quebec Inc. is now such a force that even its own failures have enriched with global dimensions.

**Language:** Quebecers have laid in fight every inch of the way, but aggressive policies promulgated by both provincial Liberal and Parti Quebecois governments have ensured that the French language is more secure in the North American sea than at any point in history. French is not only the official language of Quebec, it is now the effective language of work and for getting ahead in Quebec—and in key sectors throughout Canada.

**The future:** Listening to the political leadership of Quebec at times may have been like paying a visit to the dentist. But there is no doubting the central role Quebec governments have played in ennobling the Canadian federation and rebuilding federalism. From a badly controlled provincial state, the nation has become one of the most decentralized in the world. Quebec has led the way. The Quiet Revolution, and successive demands for new powers, certainly stirred other provinces to become more vigorous guardians of the interests of their people. That is a process that can continue. A good case can be made that British Columbia and Atlantic Canada would be better off meeting their respective fish crises than Ottawa. It is hard to imagine any other jurisdiction being so easy on labour and cost, so lax. If the western provinces can be given a greater say in forestry and mining—and they could—why then not recognize reality and call Quebec a distinct society? Surely, people at good-bell can sit down and be cooperative. There is a federation to redefine—and a good nation to save.

*Robert Lewis*

## The silent partner



LA VODKA INVISIBLE

SILENT SAM

THE INVISIBLE VODKA

# LETTERS

## Price of justice

**A**s a WSP lawyer practicing criminal and family law in Ontario, I was disappointed to see that your coverage of the O.J. Simpson verdict dealt in such depth with the pa-  
ry's alleged racism ("Beyond the verdict," World, Oct. 16). There was racism in regard to this trial, but I do not see any error in the decision of the jurors. They came to the correct and proper decision on the flawed evidence that was presented to them. It was not O.J. Simpson who bought himself an acquittal; it was the prosecution who sought to buy conviction at any sacrifice price.

Deven R. Henderson,  
Kilgus, Ont.



Simpson golfing last week in Florida. Jury came to correct decision.

the \$494,000 debt outstanding. Perhaps the United Nations should consider moving its headquarters out of New York City and take the benefits it protects to a more appropriate environment. There I suggest one of its big supporters and a consistent on-time payer—Canada?

Nicholas Rosenbaum,  
Northolt

## Fighting sexism

**Reading about exiled Bangladeshi poet Taslima Nasrin ("Fighting words," World, Oct. 16) brought back thoughts of my own experiences of female oppression. As a high-school student several years ago, I faced a male teacher who frequently made sexist remarks and jokes. When he asked why I was not laughing, I stated that what he had said was not funny, insulting, I had found the statements insulting and degrading to women, and I was not going to compromise my beliefs to humor his. Women around the world need to stand together to improve their situation. I advise Nasrin for speaking out even under the threat of death.**

Daria Murray,  
Oakville, Ont.

## Irish Nobels

**I**n your Passage item on the awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature to the poet Seamus Heaney (Oct. 26), you incorrectly state that, after W.B. Yeats and Samuel Beckett, he is the third Irishman to receive this honor. In 1955, George Bernard Shaw was awarded the Nobel Prize for the writing of *Saint Joan*. Although he had consistently declined honors and dignities, Shaw accepted the Nobel Prize money in order to establish a foundation for promoting knowledge of Swedish literature in the English-speaking world.

Michael Kennedy,  
Chairman, International Association for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature,  
Montreal

## 'More appreciative'

**W**ith the 50th anniversary of the United Nations on Oct. 24, it is a disgrace to see the sorry state of the organization's finances ("Troubled leadership," World, Oct. 23). It is even more disturbing to find that the United States owes almost 40 per cent of

almost a billion dollars to Octane's debt for each of the 56 months they were in power. Thank heavens he wasn't more feared.

Dave Capill,  
Scarlett, Ont.

**How did Mike Harris get elected?** It seems that everyone in my community comments on the despair they feel over what they perceive to be a mess-spilled government. I have personally known people who could never have landed their lives around without government assistance. I sincerely believe that the penalties are an absolute necessity.

Barbara Mount Fox,  
Stratford, Ont.

**After reading Alan Fotheringham's latest article, I cast my mind back to last March, just before the Ontario election was called. Then, Fotheringham had this insight to say in another publication, "Everyone knows the Tories are lost in Ontario," he declared they "might as well call [the election] off. The result, even the most shy politician will tell you, is decided: The Liberals will win." Three months before, he predicted Bob Rae's re-election. Put it all in perspective, doesn't it?**

Zoe Long,  
Toronto

## No business

**I**was quite surprised to see in your Oct. 9 issue a quote from James Flah stating that I am involved in a business venture with him ("O'Brien billions," Const.). I am writing to correct this erroneous remark. I do not presently have, nor have I ever had, any involvement with any corporate entity at which Mr. Flah has an interest.

Ann S. Lebovic,  
Toronto

# IT'S MONEY. YOUR MONEY.

AND YOU  
COULD HAVE  
PUT IT IN  
ANY BANK.  
BUT YOU  
DIDN'T.

THANK YOU.

WE'RE HERE  
TO HELP  
MAKE IT  
EASIER.

**TD**  
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# CREATING NOTES

## Stirring Quebecers' souls

As the two sides in the Quebec referendum campaign debate the future of the province, a Quebec City organization is already hard at work looking for a new anthem. "There isn't still be some Quebecers for whom *O Canada* still does something," says Yves Bédoin, who heads the search on behalf of the newly formed Movement for the Promotion of Quebec Patriotism. "But I don't think it touches many [French] Quebecers' souls anymore." Since her group launched an advertising contest with great fanfare on Sept. 25, however, it has received only four entries. Creativity takes time, explains Bédoin, who is still hoping for as many as 200 by the date the contest closes on Christmas Day. If all goes well, the group's proposal for a new anthem will be officially unveiled next June 24—St-Jean-Baptiste Day, the province's national holiday.

In June, a 65-year-old retired high school teacher and moved sovereigntist from the Quebec City suburb of L'Assommoir-Lorette, got the idea for an an-

them at a hockey game, when she saw crowds of people reminding her of *O Canada*. The project has nothing to do with the independence of that nation. "It really doesn't matter to me who wins," she says. "If the Yes side wins, well, we're going to need a new national anthem, aren't we? It's the No, we'll still have a song that's ours."

Still, the group will need official blessing for its choice of an anthem, and, especially if the referendum rejects separation, that may be hard to come by. In a *Montreal* poll published last July, 75 per cent of respondents in Quebec reported feelings of pride when they saw the Canadian flag or heard *O Canada*. Bédoin says her group has "some" members of the national assembly—Quebec's legislature—on board to back their choice, but that is as far as they have received the government's sanction.



Pink (seated) vote early, vote often

## Do-nothing politics, Hosmer, B.C.-style

Canadian politicians who complain that the electorate seems to have lost faith in the system should try running in the tiny south-east B.C. town of Hatter. Since 1968, the 260 citizens of Hatter have participated in municipal elections like an others in the country. Under rules established by longtime residents Charlie Pink and Frank Hosmer, each vote costs a penny—and since the idea is to raise money for the local volunteer fire department, people are encouraged to vote often, resulting in electoral results in the thousands despite Hosmer's size.

Pink, 75, who was voted back into office this month after a five-year absence, says that he has won the majority not too many times to keep track of, although he did go down to defeat in 1984 to a female named Geraldine. This time, he lost three opponents—one of them a Newfoundland, Mary Pollock, who was visiting family in the area. Pollsters estimated 6,232 votes behind Pink's 34,376, thanks largely to her appealing platform: "I wouldn't do anything for Hosmer. Why should I?" And who says there is no honesty left in politics?

## POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada ranked according to box office receipts during the seven days that ended at Oct. 18 (in brackets: numbers of screens/weeks added).

1. <i>Seven</i> (2,674) .....	\$133,490
2. <i>Armageddon</i> (3,070) .....	\$113,470
3. <i>The Godfather: Part II</i> (967) .....	\$95,480
4. <i>To Die With</i> (718) .....	\$82,890
5. <i>How to Make an American Quilt</i> (912) .....	\$40,020
6. <i>Jade</i> (1,971) .....	\$34,020
7. <i>Remains of the Day</i> (812) .....	\$34,000
8. <i>Dead Presidents</i> (912) .....	\$30,720
9. <i>The Usual Suspects</i> (912) .....	\$28,138
10. <i>Empire of the Senses</i> (718) .....	\$24,158

SOURCE: TOP BOX OFFICE WEEKLY INC.

## Many apples a day keep the bears away

Onica might complain that referendum politics have turned Quebec into one big circus act. But does that explain the meandering bears? Wildlife officials around Hull insist that the shaggy mammals there have been wandering into the city recently have nothing to do with the upcoming sovereignty vote. They blame a poor berry crop, which has enticed large numbers of hungry black bears out of the woods to consider the city as a possible source of food. And, city folk being what they are, many were not taking due caution—including a few who even had their children



Marauding bears: 'fat and happy'

to 30 bears a day gather near for a good feed. "They're getting fat and mean quite happy now," says Stacey Boudreau. And with referendum due soon—coincidentally, just after the Oct. 30 referendum—the apples may have kept the bears away from Hull's door for the season.

## Kapooking informant company, matronism

Lorraine Luczak, the association's director of research, says the group also wants Ottawa to pay for a statue to be erected at Spirit Lake, Que., where one of the camps was established. The Ukrainian-Canadian community has already got up markers at several other internment sites, including Kapooking and Kingston, Ont., and Basil, Alta. Frustrated at the lack of response from Ottawa on his association's compensation



Looking to right past wrongs

The Japanese community in Canada looked for a long, hard and publicly far compensation for its mistreatment during the Second World War—and won a \$300 million restitution in 1988. Set there is another group now seeking recognition of a similar abuse: a quarter-century after the First World War, The Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association wants the government to formally apologize and pay \$30 million in restitution to the community for the internment of 5,000 of its members and the seizure of their property.

demanded. Luczak says that there is more than mere difference involved. "There are Ukrainianophobic tendencies among bureaucrats in Ottawa," he maintains. Not so, says Nanci Jean Waugh, executive assistant to Sheila Finestone, the secretary of state for multiculturalism. In fact, she admits, Finestone "has asked officials to look very seriously" at the association's request. The cheque, however, is not yet in the mail.

Story by BARBARA WICKES

## PASSAGES

**CANCELLED:** A \$1.5-million sponsor ship contract with tennis superstar Steffi Graf, 26, by German car maker Opel. Reacting to a lingering loss of faith in her father's handling of Graf's estimated fortune of more than \$250 million, Opel said that "in the current situation" it would not renew the contract at year's end. Peter Graf, 57, has been hired in a German post under contract since August in connection with an investigation into his alleged failure to report more than \$45 million of his daughter's income. A judge earlier refused him request to post a \$103-million bond, citing fears that he would flee the country. One day after the sponsorship cancellation, Graf—who won the U.S. Open tournament last month—lost for only the second time this year, in the opening round of a tournament in Brighton, England.



STEFFI GRAF

**MARRIED:** Melchior's Contributing Editor Steve Conrad, 38,5 author of the year, by the Toronto Medical Heritage Society of Canada, for *On the Edge*, her best-seller on the Mulroney years, at a Toronto ceremony.

**DONATED:** By Anne Tashchian, 55, the seventh of one of Canada's most philanthropic families, \$10 million to the University of Toronto and four hospitals to study such degenerative diseases as Alzheimer's and Parkinson's.

**CELEBRATED:** Being the oldest person ever recorded, Fred Whitman, 120, plan 258 days in Ayles, where she has lived all her life. Colman's mustache, ketchup, and chocolate, and credits ketchup as the secret to her longevity.

**DIED:** "Marlboro Man" David McKean, 72, of lung cancer, in Los Angeles. McKean portrayed the rugged cowboy in TV commercials that created a Marlboro image for the cigarette brand.

**EXPENSIVE:** Concor. B.C.-born Repsol oiler Pamela Lee, 35, and her husband, Mickey Lee, 36, married Tommy Lee, 32. Lee had a miscarriage earlier this year.

## Where talk is cheap

In joining the National Basketball Association this year, the Toronto Raptors have moved into the highest level of professional sports. To begin with, the team's owners paid a staggering \$176 million to acquire the expansion franchise. And the NBA has the highest annual player salaries—averaging \$2 million per man—among all the professional team sports. But the big bucks at basketball have not stopped the Raptors from pinching pennies on the court. In the soon-to-be-released *Slam Dunk*, a book celebrating the arrival of the NBA in Canada, authors Russell and Grendon Conrad reveal that the team held to live-high-profile Toronto broadcaster John Gallagher as their public-address announcer. *Amateurs* play an important role in the NBA entertainment package, but the Raptors offered only two tickets and \$50 per game, less than the going rate in other NBA cities. An insulted Gallagher declined, so the team found someone who would work for the wages—66-year-old Herb Kutt, whose only announcing experience is in local college sports. Welcome to the big leagues.



Raptor ball: pinching pennies

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

For Canadians outside Quebec, sitting through the nail-biting final days of that province's referendum campaign is a bit like living in the apartment next door to a particularly fractious couple. The walls are thin and it is impossible not to hear the commotion on the other side. Cries of "humiliation" and "blackmail" ring out. He warns of dire consequences if the leaves; she insists that the situation has become unbearable. It's difficult to sleep through it all, and pounding on the wall does not seem to help. But from bitter experience, it is clear that any attempt to go next door and settle things will only lead the unhappy pair to make common cause and turn fiercely against you.

That is the frustration of English-speaking Canada as it awaits the outcome of the vote on Oct. 30. It will have enormous consequences for the entire country; it may even spell the beginning of the end of the country as we have known it since 1867. But, in the end, the so-called Rest of Canada has been forced to sit nervously on the sidelines. For the drama being played out in Quebec has long been essentially a family feud. It is not, at its core, a French versus English question, or even a tussle between Quebec and the R.C. It is a quarrel inside the Quebec family itself, a struggle between two visions of where the best interests of French Quebecers (and by extension, French-Canadians as a whole) lie. The great debates have pitted Jean Lesage against Daniel Johnson Sr. in the 1960s, then Pierre Trudeau against René Lévesque in the '70s and '80s, and now Jean Chrétien and Daniel Johnson Jr. against Lucien Bouchard and Jacques Parizeau. The great debates, in turn, reflect the profound divisions among ordinary Quebecers, as the profiles of two families on the eve of the referendum that appear on pages 24 and 26 illustrate.



**Red** Federalist women cheer at a No rally near Montreal. Bouchard (right) residing the allure of the sovereigntists' new champion



senior organizer John Parizeau frankly admitted has been the Bloc Québécois leader's unforeseen "phenomenal impact" on the referendum campaign. At the same time, however, there are plenty of indications that not all francophone voters have succumbed to Bouchard's potent allure. More than 2,500 francophone, chanting women flooded last week to a huge anti-sovereignty rally under the strict rules of suburban Leval just north of Montreal, eager to vent their anger over Bouchard's remarks concerning Quebec motherhood. At a Yes rally on Oct. 14, Bouchard had said, "Do you think it makes sense that we have so few children in Quebec? We are one of the white races that has the least children, that doesn't make sense. It means we haven't resolved family problems."

The evening after the women's rally, 3,000 business people jammed the downtown Palais des Congrès in downtown Montreal, enthusiastically cheering speaker after speaker who urged a vote against the Parti Québécois government's independence plan. And on the same day in Quebec City, 600 members of the Metropolitan Quebec Chapter of Commerce chuckled warmly and applauded as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, making only his second major foray into the referendum campaign, lightly dismissed the Bloc leader as "l'ancien ou pape des évêques." —Lucien Bouchard

# THE CHOICE IN QUEBEC

With a week to go in the campaign, the debate has shifted far from the dry contest of facts and figures that both sides waged for months—to the mounting boredom and confusion of voters—to what it always has been, and always will be, a battle of the heart. And it is on that battleground that federalists feel most vulnerable. They do not have the kind of charismatic champion that sovereigntists have found in the mesmerizing figure of Lucien Bouchard. Call it The Bridges of Quebec County. Since Bouchard struck the helm of the Yes forces, many Quebec voters have allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by the dark, handsome stranger come to inject a little political passion into their lives. Federalists can only hope that the real-life drama plays out as it did in the movies, and that, in the end, Quebecers will cool down—and opt once again to stay with Canada.

## Bouchard's bandwagoas federalists worried as referendum approaches

BY BARRY CAME

The federalist moment looms. And with only days remaining before Quebec voters' crucial encounter at the ballot box on Monday, Oct. 30, the signs were far from comforting for federalists. Five polls in less than a week, all suggesting that the forces of secession in the province were creeping ever closer to, if not a win, then perhaps a loss so narrow that it could herald a new era of war for the country. Just as ominously, in Lucien Bouchard the sovereigntists have a powerful leader who does not deliver a message as much as he casts a spell. His discourse is full of allusions to "magic words" and "beneficial means." It is a neurological ap-

peal, one that allows him to brush aside and exorcise, even escape the full wrath that would befall lesser mortals who dared to challenge Quebec's "white race" producing too few babies. What a man, he is not above invoking ghosts from the past, as he did last week in Kinrossville, on the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence River, when he promised 2,000 surprised faithful that as soon as he opens negotiations with the rest of Canada after a Yes victory, "Bleed Quebec will not be far from my side."

To be sure, neither Bouchard nor his excited followers have certain triumph in their grasp—wins or without the revered signs of the late Quebec premier. The referendum camp may well be riding from what

If Chrétien and Quebec Liberal Leader (Daniel) Johnson's federalist troops in Quebec hope to defeat the forces that Bouchard now effectively commands, however, it will require more than witty gibes. Since assuming control of a disorganized and dispirited separatist camp on Oct. 7, the Bloc leader has almost single-handedly managed to steer the tide of events that seemed to be propelling the Yes side to almost certain defeat on Oct. 30. Before Bouchard shouldered aside Premier Jacques Parizeau, the separatists were consistently running close to 10 percentage points behind the federalists in all but one public opinion poll. No longer.

Last week, published polls by five firms suggested that federalists

## FAIR NORTH

The vast northern third of the province includes 12,000 Cree and 7,500 Inuit who are holding their own. **Information on Q.C. 24 and 26:** **Non-voters** came through the survey again. **Language:** 50 per cent French, 47 per cent other. **Age:** 47 per cent under 35 years. **Education:** 50 per cent post-secondary. **Electoral area:** 19,954. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994.

## ARBITRY

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## OTTAWA VALLEY

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## COVER

and organizations are backed as a dead beat, a struggle that could go on for ever. The first to report was **St-Jean** of Montreal. In a survey of 381 voters conducted between Oct. 22 and 16 for the Montreal Gazette and Quebec City's **Le Soleil**, the company put Yes support at 53 per cent and No at 45 per cent, with 13 per cent undecided or unwilling to answer.

A survey carried out over the same four-day period by the Centre de recherches sur l'opinion publique (CRIO) for **The Toronto Star** and Montreal's **La Presse** turned up a similar result. After polling 1,131 voters, CRIO found 43.6 per cent of respondents intending to vote Yes, 42.8 per cent No and 13.6 per cent undecided.

And a Groupe Léger & Léger poll of 1,905 voters released on Saturday in the **Globe and Mail** and **La Presse** of Montreal showed a similar result. Between 1994 and 1995, the poll, conducted between Oct. 16 and 20, showed less strength at 50.2 per cent compared with 49.8 per cent for the No side, once the 12 per cent who were undecided, refused to say or said they would not vote was factored in. Among the undecided, the split was 45.8 per cent Yes and 54.2 per cent No.

Two private polls circulating in the financial community last last week reported similar results. An Angus Reid survey of 1,032 respondents between Oct. 16 and 18 reported that 51 per cent of those who had made up their minds were supporting the Yes, 43 per cent No, while 11 per cent were undecided. An Enbridge Research Group poll of 615 people over five days ending on Oct. 19 had the No at 51 per cent and Yes at 49 among decided voters, with the undecided at 14 per cent. At the same time, the poll also showed that the Yes support grew. On Friday, Oct. 20, it dropped nearly three-

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# The battleground

For the purposes of the Oct. 30 referendum, all of Quebec is treated as a single unit. Every vote counts equally, and political opinions are working furiously to make sure that all their supporters turn up at the polls. But like Canada as a whole, Quebec is sharply divided from one region to another. Overall, 73.8 per cent of the population are 65-per-cent French-speaking and 45 per cent English-speaking, with the remaining five per cent (the so-called allophones) having other mother tongues. From the Far North, where a majority native population belies apparent separation, to the strongly non-French, Saguenay region, to the Eastern Townships, where French and English have lived peacefully side by side for two centuries, the province is much less unified than it might look at first glance. Some of the key reports whose opinions are concentrating in the campaign's final days.

## BEAUFORT

Raised for its strong tradition of fishing villages with some of Quebec's most spectacular scenery. **Information on Q.C. 24 and 26:** **Non-voters** came through the survey again. **Language:** 50 per cent French, 47 per cent other. **Age:** 47 per cent under 35 years. **Education:** 50 per cent post-secondary. **Electoral area:** 19,954. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994.

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## 'I don't want to see Canada break up'

Jean Perrin, 43, unemployed in Quebec from December in 1974 and lives in Montreal. She worked as a nurse for 11 years, then became a labor relations consultant for various unions in the province. She spoke to correspondent Lori Weisick.

"I'm going to vote No, because after the 30th of October I still intend to maintain my Canadian citizenship card and my Canadian passport. Quebec is special. It is a distinct society and I just love it. But I don't want to see Canada break up. I love being in a Quebec that is part of Canada. My address in Montreal, Quebec, Canada."

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separation. But while challenging Quebec's right to secede on legal grounds, the document concedes that "It is unlikely that Quebec would request federal permission to secede."

Whether by accident or design, however, the Blue leader suddenly found a strong ally in the province's most powerful newspaper. The **La Presse** had taken pains to stress the federal government's position that the sovereigntists are old-fashioned, rather than the outright independence that many Quebecers prefer. Without warning, he abruptly abandoned that pose in a long and candid interview with **La Presse**. "A Yes vote will seriously lead to sovereignty," he bluntly maintained. "It matters little whether or not there is a partnership."

That statement, in essence confirming his central role of the federalist movement, sparked widespread controversy. And it spread some dismay among the ranks of the more moderate sovereigntists, who are acutely aware of the historical enmity between the two camps. In last week's **La Presse**, the paper suggested that fully one-third of those who intend to vote No will do so in order to give Bouchard "a strong message to separate a new deal for Quebec within Canada." The Blue leader himself is a bona fide student of those polls. And it may be the main reason why, a day after his remarks in **La Presse**, he found it necessary to backpedal when he addressed the evening throng in Montreal. "Before proclaiming sovereignty, we must first be clear on the political, social, economic and legal obligations to negotiate a partnership," he assured the crowd. "We can't allow ourselves to be discouraged after a few bad negotiating meetings. We have to work with patience and constant determination because as the weeks go by the deal will settle."

It is a far different pose from the one that Bouchard had seconded earlier. But it helped to buoy the sagging confidence of Daniel Johnson's federalist troops, who remain

# 'I don't see it as a divorce'

Daniel Johnson, 45, is a lawyer and former Liberal MP who served as a backbencher in former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's government from 1980 to 1984. He is now mayor of the town of St-Jasques, 30 km south of Quebec City, and regional president for the No side in the Chaudière-Appalaches region. He spoke to correspondent Mark Carwell.

Since the rest of Canada said No when it voted on the Meech Lake accord in 1990, and rejected Quebec's minimal demands in the Charlottetown agreement, Quebecers have no choice but to say Yes on Oct. 30.

Elected to Ottawa in 1981, I knew beyond that the federal system could be reformed, and that change would result in more power for Quebec. I even voted in 1981 in favour of the ratification of the Constitution. There again, I thought Quebec would be a winner. Unfortunately, that didn't happen—in the century after spending several years in Ottawa and in various federalist political organizations, I am now convinced that a Yes vote is the only way to get the rest of Canada to move. If not, the interminable constitutional battles will continue for 10, 15 or 20 years more. What a waste of energy and talent.

I'm 100 per cent certain, absolutely convinced, that there will be a far-reaching agreement between Quebec and Canada after a Yes vote. While certain fundamental things like Quebec's sovereignty and power of taxation won't be open for discussion, I don't believe the sovereignty project now on the table will be implemented fully. That's why, I believe, is a strongly negotiated give-and-take settlement. For example, would I wouldn't Quebec and Canada share an armed force, a postal service and even money?

I don't see Quebec sovereignty as a divorce, more like a rearranging of the family furniture. Independence is our only way out of the constitutional mess, but we must go forward hand in hand with Canada.

**Q: Founder:** There will, I believe, be a strongly negotiated give-and-take settlement.

convinced that the Blue leader is riding a popular bubble that will burst when Quebec's notoriously grudging voters cast their ballots next week. "People are fed up with all the facts and figures that have been thrown at them in this campaign."

He said federalist opponent Paré, "Bouchard came as a breath of fresh air. He gave everybody a chance to escape to the past." He thinks the federalists cannot to adjust their strategy to counter Bouchard's unending ability to strike a resonant chord deep within many of Quebec's francophone majority. "I think we've been a little off course on that score," Paré acknowledged. "We have to remind everybody that it is not unconstitutional to be Quebecois and Canadian at the same time."

A hint of what is central surfaced late last week when Johnson, campaigning in the town of Maguey on the shores of Lake Mingouémagy in the Eastern Townships, told reporters that while his first love is Quebec, "Canada to me is like a

**Q: Paré:** The sovereignty question is holding everybody prisoner. There are other things.

It's important that the answer given to the 30th is very clear. I want the answer to be accepted by both sides so we can all move on, rather than continuing to subjecting about sovereignty or separation or the distinct society. There are other things to deal with poverty, the social system, employment, what is happening in the lives of our youth, what is happening to rectify the situation of racism in this country. Quebec is using separation as an excuse to avoid all these issues. I would like to see my tax dollars going to something other than the sovereignty movement. We have spent enough money on this one question.

## CHATELAIN

Known for its strong tradition of fishing villages with some of Quebec's most spectacular scenery. **Information on Q.C. 24 and 26:** **Non-voters** came through the survey again. **Language:** 50 per cent French, 47 per cent other. **Age:** 47 per cent under 35 years. **Education:** 50 per cent post-secondary. **Electoral area:** 19,954. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994. **Outlook:** 14 per cent in 1994.

very, very old friend that I don't want to give up." Many of the same is at issue, as Johnson remarked in an interview he taped for airing this week on the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service's *Northeast*. In the interview, Johnson outlined what he described as three stages of the federalist referendum campaign strategy. The first aimed at driving home the message that the vote is really about the separation of Quebec from Canada. The second attempted to warn Quebecers about the economic costs. In the third and final stage, he told his two interviewers, "you will see what it comes to be Canadian. We will be talking about the advantages of being Canadian."

On that score, the federalist side received a timely boost last week from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Seeking a long-standing official American stance against secession in Canada's constitutional squabbles, Christopher stated as clearly as diplomacy permits that no independent Quebec might not enjoy the same advantages in relations with the United States as those now existing between Washington and Ottawa. "I think it's probably useful for me to say we're very carefully evaluating our ties with Canada and they're being very responsive in connection with these files," Christopher remarked as he stood beside Foreign Minister Andre Charest in Washington. "I think we should also be aware that there is a different kind of organization would just as obviously have the same kind of ties."

That comment lent further weight to the federalist's oft-repeated argument that the separatists are attempting to mislead voters into believing an independent Quebec would gain relatively easy access to the same international arrangements as Canada enjoys, in particular the North American Free Trade Agreement. If that's true, the federalists' case for staying in Washington, be gone no sign of it. As for the Blackboarder line, Christopher was merely indulging in the usual "why the language of diplomacy" to reiterate what has always been the "traditional American position" on Canada and Quebec.

While Bouchard's interpretation may be open to dispute, it is true that the Bloc leader has more than a passing acquaintance with diplomacy, as well as with the politics of the so-called *ancien régime*. He won, after all, Canada's ambassador to Paris during an earlier incarnation. And in those who have followed his remarkable progress to Quebec's referendum campaign can testify, he is not alone: the occasional resort to cryptic pronouncements to allude to his cause.

## 'We need a new deal'

Arthur Sandhu, 39, is president of the central council of the Confederation des syndicats rattachés in Montreal, which represents 80,000 non-union workers in the Montreal area. Born in Hamilton, Sandhu was raised in the mainly anglophone West Island and is a member of the Network of English-Speaking Quebecers for the Yes. He speaks in correspondent Les Wierick.

**Noted Les Wierick:** A few years before, I was working in the Dominion Bridge steel mill in Lachine. To get a promotion, you had to read and speak English. In a huge steel mill where 30 per cent of the people were French, something was wrong in English. All the safety equipment was in English and I didn't get it. On an employment with no English because the instructions were just in English. It impressed me that there was something wrong. As we got closer to the referendum

## 'The risks are great'

Marc-Pierre Poulin, 33, is vice president of communications and marketing for Mass, one of Canada's largest mass marketers of business accessories, in St-Marc-de-Bouasse, 50 km south of Quebec City. The company has four factories in Quebec, one each in British Columbia and Alberta and three in the United States. She is a member of the *fraternalité* Group of 100, and spoke to correspondent Mark Cuddeback.

**For** both economic and social reasons, I will vote No on Oct. 30. Every day, an independent industry and state-owned enterprise and get involved in an aspect where the risk is calculated and reasonable. That's why the real danger of business people oppose Mr. Parizeau's proposition because the risks are too great and the benefits are all hypothetical.

Today, access to the American market is guaranteed to all Quebec businesses through NAFTA, and access to Canadian markets is granted through our political, economic and monetary union. The day following a Yes, those roughly 3,000 laws and treaties will have to be renegotiated. Why waste all that time and money and only end up losing a lot, and gaining nothing we haven't already got?

I've lived a lot in Canada and the United States, and I've proudly seen my double label as a Quebecer and a Canadian. Today, I'm going ahead to give up against my will, but of my identity. People want to take away my Canadian heritage from my three children: Marie-Pier, Francis and Gabrielle. Marie-Pier asked me recently, "Mommy, why does Mr. Parizeau want to separate Quebec from Canada? Why does he want to do this to the Earth?"

A Yes vote on Oct. 30 is not reversible. And because I feel as much a Quebecer as Mr. Parizeau, I believe that the creation of jobs, economic stability and social peace depends on the maintenance of our Canadian political and economic union, because both sentiments and emotional attachments don't belong equally to sovereign states, because I want to leave my children with everything that I was given, I'll vote No.

**Les Wierick:** Today I'm being asked to give up against my will, but of my identity?

That the Bloc leader has more than a passing acquaintance with diplomacy, as well as with the politics of the so-called *ancien régime*. He won, after all, Canada's ambassador to Paris during an earlier incarnation. And in those who have followed his remarkable progress to Quebec's referendum campaign can testify, he is not alone: the occasional resort to cryptic pronouncements to allude to his cause.



**Sandhu:** "We want to maintain a relationship with Canada. We don't want to close all the doors."

And, I'm saying we need a new deal with Canada that will allow the French culture to be seen at work. So voted Yes then and I'll vote Yes again this time.

The gathering comes down to the fact that we live here and we want to maintain a relationship with the rest of Canada. We don't want to close all the doors but we do want to be respected as a distinct group. If we vote Yes, I imagine a majority of Quebecers will still want to maintain a clear link with Quebec. The only thing would be to not maintain economic links.

In an independent Quebec, anglophones would have constitutional assurance that they would maintain their institutions. They don't have that right now. The only guarantee now is that Canada is anglophone and bicultural. We would probably be able to get away from bilingualism and biculturalism. In an independent with no English law, and no English citizens. On an employment with no English because the instructions were just in English. It impressed me that there was something wrong. As we got closer to the referendum

## Federalists are starting to think the unthinkable

A long time ago, when the chances of a Yes victory in Quebec's referendum seemed like the long shot, the idea seemed like an idea way to celebrate the diverse elements that make up Canada. Shortly before the Oct. 30 vote, some No side strategists decided, they would use all five surviving former prime ministers—Kim Campbell, Brian Mulroney, John Diefenderfer, Joe Clark and Pierre Trudeau—to appear together at a rally in Montreal. Accordingly, Jean Charest was asked—and agreed—to telephone each of them to see if they were willing to participate. All agreed enthusiastically.

But that was then, before Lucien Bouchard's sovereignty campaign started generating the kind of breathless enthusiasm recently reserved for religious figures who lead the sick with one touch and perform magic with leaves and flowers. And now this week, when the No side holds a large-scale rally in Montreal, the five were unlikely to be there in a dedicated role, despite their collective enthusiasm. Plans for their meeting were scrapped last week by suddenly busy congressmen, who feared, in the words of one, "that the whole thing could go wrong in a million ways that none of us could imagine, right now."

It was that kind of work for the No forces, who in the space of two weeks have moved from confident assertions of surpassing the 60 per cent mark to pondering the previously unthinkable what if question. Even Prime Minister Charest, who has never in anyone's memory acknowledged the possibility that sovereignty could win any referendum, admitted uncertain reliance on the vote. Discussing the federalist side's hopes for victory in a midweek speech to Ottawa-area Liberals, he said: "We are not there yet. We still have to fight."

With one week left before Quebecers cast their ballots, the mood in Ottawa was noticeably more subdued than it was at the outset of the campaign a month ago. There was uncertainty in the air, whether to change the No side's strategy of concentrating on gloomy economic forecasts at the event of a Yes, and the new real troubling question of what to do in the immediate aftermath of an ambiguous No result—in the range of 50 to 52 per cent for either side.

With one week to go, some changes were likely in campaign strategy. Privately, federalist officials conceded that Prime Minister Paul Martin considered a public lecture when he said in Montreal that to a rally, likely in Quebec, could be jeopardized by independence. Although Martin did not say the job would be lost, and some studies support his findings, opponents pounced on the comment as an example of fear mongering. And the credibility of Martin, who is one of the most popular federalist spokesmen in Quebec, suffered badly. Charest, despite his reputation as someone who loves a loud, adopted a deliberately low tone in a speech in Quebec City, as an obvious attempt to lower the emotional temperature of the debate. Right after the speech, he asked Quebecers to "think carefully" before casting



## THE NEW FEAR IN OTTAWA



**Charest speaking in Ottawa: 'We still have to fight'**

their votes. Similarly, when he speaks in Montreal at a No rally this week, sales his message will be urgent, concentrated on the virtues of Canada rather than the potential weaknesses of a sovereign Quebec. One option being considered is providing enhanced provincial powers after a No vote. Another adjustment is that Conservative Leader Jean Charest, considered far and away the best speaker on the No side, has been given next prominence.

As for Charest's circle of advisers, most still consider a No victory a virtual certainty, despite recent polls showing the two sides neck and neck. But forecasts at the margin of victory have narrowed dramatically: the same syndicates who predicted a 60-40 No vote several weeks ago now talk about "scrapping" with about 52 or 54 per cent of the vote. And a win by that margin, and now advice gloomily, "it's not the absolute worst thing that could happen—but it is not the best either."

The problem is that virtually everything the federal government has to adhere to in the short term is based on the assumption that the issue of Quebec's future could be met again after Oct. 30 to concentrate on other things. A clear result, with the lingering uncertainty that implies, could affect those plans. Among them, Charest is scheduled to leave on Nov. 3 for a two-week trip to the Asia-Pacific region. At the same time, Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy is supposed to unveil planned reforms—and reductions—to social programs. Already, the introduction of those reforms behind schedule, and planning for the traditional February budget with the finance minister's direct involvement has usually been under way at this point for at least a month. But the referendum campaign has upset, and a Martin associate, that "no business is being done, today that can possibly be put off until tomorrow." The more pressing question around Ottawa is whether, after Oct. 30, business in Ottawa will still over be as usual again.

ANDREW WILSON SMITH in Ottawa

# A PESSIMISTIC YES VOTE

## The Brunelle family:

The passion of 1980 has turned into a cautious desire for sovereignty

BY LIZ WARWICK

Montreal correspondent Liz Warwick, 30, moved to Montreal from Cambridge, Mass., in 1992 to live with Eric Brunelle. Her new father was French-speaking and had long identified with the sovereignty movement. In the weeks leading to the Oct. 30 referendum, she found that the Brunelles still support independence—but much else has changed since Quebec's last referendum in 1980.

I was May 30, 1980, and 11-year-old Anne Brunelle sat at front of the television watching the votes in the first Quebec referendum being tallied. For months, the campaign had been the focus of her family's attention. "In our house, there was a lot of emotion about the referendum," my mother-in-law recalls. "Whenever René Lévesque appeared, we would all cheer. When [no leader] Claude Ryan came on, we'd boo. It was very intense." At school, Anne argued for the Yes side in her classes. Despite her age, she felt part of the debate. "In my mind and in my heart, I was always wanting those buttons that said 'Oui!'"

On referendum day, Anne's father, Roger, a high-school science teacher, and her older brother Eric, a student who had just turned 18, left the family's modest three-bedroom town house in Ville St. Laurent, a north-west suburb of Montreal, to serve as scrutineers at a local polling station. While confident that the Oui would carry the day, Roger and Eric did not expect their neighbors to contribute to that victory. About a third of the area's population had arrived from such places as Lebanon, Vietnam and Eastern Europe. Just under half the residents counted French as their mother tongue, and the district had voted almost exclusively Liberal for decades.

When the polls closed, the Brunelle family gathered at their home on Jean-Baptiste Avenue. They had agreed to be filmed for a local television special on the referendum. When the film crew arrived, the cameramen reminded that the vote was going to be 60-40 for the No. Anne remembers the adults around her laughing in disbelief. A few hours later, his guess became reality. With the cameras rolling, the family stared at the final numbers. "My mother was crying in my arms," Anne says. "I was crying. It was so emotional." The next day, she learned that the family's grief had been headlined by "All my



The Brunelle family at home (clockwise from top): Joe Magliano, Roger, Monique, Liz Warwick, Eric and Anne

friends from school had watched me on TV. And this girl came up and said, 'I saw you crying last night on the news. I never knew it was so important to you.'"

Fifteen years have passed, and this year's referendum is also important to Anne and her family. But this time, the debates are much less heated. In check, Monique has expanded the family to include a proud federalist and a knowledgeable American. There is a sense that no group will not change anyone's mind, so a determined isolationist policy remains at our recession-stricken family's disposal.

Yet the echoes of 1980 remain. Feelings have shifted, arguments have changed, but the choice for most remains Yes. This time, though, it is a purified Yes. A possible "Yes, A Yes that speaks to 15 years of argument, constitutional battles, failed accords and an ever-diminishing hope of a country called Quebec. Now 37, Anne still carries those Oui buttons in her heart. An elementary school teacher and

teacher's assistant, she says she will vote Yes to protect the French language and culture. Yet, curled next to her husband, Joe Magliano, in the living room of their immaculate one-bedroom apartment, Anne laughs about how complicated her Yes has become. She is married to a well-described Italian-Canadian who will vote No. They know from their first blind date that they would never agree on the Quebec issue, so they rarely discuss it.

Joe, a 30-year-old fitness instructor and private trainer, grew up in a tightly knit Italian community in northeast Montreal. His parents spoke Italian, French and English at home, and he attended English school. He works at a gym in central Montreal where the clientele is almost exclusively non-Quebecers. Even they, he says, do not want separation because the economic costs are too high. "This province and the rest of Canada will suffer," he says.

Anne agrees with his assessment: "If over people say Yes, it will take at least 10 years for the province to adjust," she acknowledges. However, Anne is ready to make the sacrifice. "I think I'll cover for me to accept that adjustment period, since someone who deep down doesn't feel like a French Quebecer. That's why I understand why an English-speaking Canadian living here might feel that way."

Like his sister, Stephanie Brunelle, 28, will vote Yes to strengthen the French language. "Sovereignty is the key to the survival of the French language," he says from his temporary home near Washington. Since January Stephanie has been traveling with the Cirque du Soleil, working as a production office manager. He will vote by mail, but admits to being nervous from the debate. Born in 1965, after the start of the Quiet Revolution, Stephanie says he never heard the kind of language discrimination his parents did. "Nobody ever told me to 'speak white' or called me a frog," he says. Yet, as a teenager, he read enough to be convinced that Quebec had to protect its language and culture. So, like Stephanie, did he agree that during the 1980 referendum he'd voted as a representative of the Yes side at a local polling station. No one is quipped about his age, so the 14-year-old became one of the youngest people ever to answer an election. He took the job seriously—perhaps too seriously, he says today. "I was a total pain in the neck," he recalls with a laugh. "I kept asking everyone for identification. 'Excuse my sister, Stephanie, remember the powerful technique surrounding the referendum.' My family was all in line at a university. 'We talked about it a lot at home. There was so much passion. I was really, really confident we'd win.'"

After the poll closed, Stephanie raced home. Waking up, he saw his parents sitting in front of the television, crying. "I knew we'd lost," he thought. It was very impressive for me to see how hard my parents took it. They were really sad and frustrated. And I felt that we had lost something important."

Stephanie says his Yes vote probably will not bring back what was

lost 15 years ago. "I doubt we're going to win. All the politicians and business people talk about is competitiveness and the global market." That focus on economics, he says, does not inspire people to work towards the Yes side's vision of an independent country.

Stephanie and his partner, 39-year-old Lynn Lyster, are expecting a child in April. They agree that without a Yes vote, their child may struggle with the same issues. "The history of Quebec proves that there will always be this fight for the recognition from the rest of Canada and the rest of the world that we are a nation," Stephanie says. "If it's not settled this time, it will come back in 15, 20, 25, maybe 50 years."

The sense that a resolution to the Quebec-Canada problem hangs tantalizingly out of reach frustrates my husband, Eric, 33. President of a small computer company, Eric has been a Parti Québécois member for 15 years and a member of the Bloc Québécois for five. He has marched in every St. Jean-Baptiste Day parade since 1980, except last year when we married on June 24. He will vote Yes, but with a deep sense of pessimism. He worries about what will happen if the

No side wins. He says the past 15 years, in particular, have created serious rifts between Quebec and Canada. Business contracts have told him that people who will not buy products labeled Made in Quebec. And when Eric taps into the Internet, he finds news groups like *Quebec politics* and *Quebec friends* filled with messages, usually from English-Canadians, calling Quebecers "whiners" and "traitors." "The hatred is shocking," he says. "That didn't exist in 1980. Imagine an other 15 years like that."

Eric has little patience for people who either over the costs of voting one way or another. "The question is are we an independent people?" he asks. "I am not Canadian. I never was Canadian, and I never will be Canadian."

For Monique Brunelle, 36, a retired school teacher and administrator, and Roger Brunelle, 68, who is also retired, the vision they had 15 years ago of a proud, independent, sovereign Quebec remains compelling. Seated in our living room, sipping coffee on a rainy autumn afternoon, they occasionally lean in towards me to make a point. "I want a society that is, in fact, recognizes what we are, that allows us to be faithful to our roots," Monique says.

Yet both worry that the economic arguments of the No side will carry the day in 1995. Roger considers the neighborhood, university people's car culture. "People were afraid," he says, about losing their jobs, about losing their pensions, about an economic crisis. Those fears have intensified today, he says, in a culture where money rules. Monique and Roger say it is hard for the Yes side to compete.

"What's the fear?" Monique demands. "The first of losing money because the one thing that counts today is money. What are our differences, our culture, our language, our personality? We're being belittled by money?" She pauses. She adds firmly, "You don't sell your identity for money?" □

## 'I am not Canadian, I never was Canadian, I never will be Canadian'



Family happen the debates are heated, feelings are kept in check

# A FAITHFUL 'COMMON SENSE'

## The Marcotte family: After the fears of 1980, calm, unafraid and hoping that the No side wins again

BY MARK CARDWELL

Quebec City correspondent Mark Cardwell, 36, is a native of Quebec. One, who moved to Quebec in 1964, where he met and married Nicole Marcotte. His new family lives in north bank of the St. Lawrence river, just north of Quebec City. The Marcottes have three children: a 17-year-old son, a 15-year-old daughter and a 13-year-old son. They were profoundly shaken by the tensions surrounding the first sovereignty referendum in 1980. This time, Cardwell found, the debate is much calmer.

**N**othing matters more to Charles and Jeanne Marcotte than family. That's why they will grumble when they recall a Christmas party in 1979, just five months before the first Quebec referendum on independence. As in many previous years, they made the 2½-hour drive from their home in suburban Quebec City to Montreal to join Jeanne's 11 brothers and sisters and their spouses for an evening of reminiscing, storytelling and caroling. Soon after their arrival, however, the Marcottes realized that the mood was less than festive that year: "My family was deeply divided over independence," remembers Jeanne, who is now 62. "You could feel the aggressive tension in the air." Things went well at first, but when the subject of the referendum finally surfaced in the dinner table, it sparked a spirited debate that quickly deteriorated into a heated exchange of hard words. "Everyone eventually calmed down and agreed not to talk about politics," says Jeanne. "But the hat was gone out of the evening and most people left early."

The incident still torments the Marcottes and their four adult children—Richard, Michel, France and Nicole, age 31—all of the powerful emotions that quickly divided French-speaking Quebecers in 1980. "The referendum debate raised primal fears and passions on both sides," says ex-act of Richard explains. "Federalism was predicated on economic disaster if Quebec separated while the nationalists were convinced that, without independence, Quebec's French language and culture were doomed." Passions were strongest among young Quebecers who, with the active support of teachers, turned many French-language schools into virtual pro-sovereignty camps.



**Family gathering in the Marcotte home in Quebec City (clockwise from top): grandparents Charles and Jeanne, Alain Pivard, Catherine, France with her daughter Catherine, Michel and Nicole**

"It was almost embarrassing to say you were a federalist," recalls 38-year-old France, who, like Nicole, was a student at a small college on the province's Gaspé Peninsula. Nicole, 35, remembers a class in which the teacher asked these students who intended to vote No to raise their hands; only she and one other student in a class of 30 did so. The angry emotional rallies and acts of vandalism made Jeanne apprehensive about the possibility of violence. "I was honestly afraid there was going to be civil war," she says during a family gathering at their home in Beauport, a quiet residential suburb of Quebec City.

Fifteen years later, however, the Marcottes, like most French-Quebecers, are remarkably calm on the eve of a second referendum.

The family is fiercely federalist: It may be the only one in the overwhelmingly francophone neighborhood to hold an annual Canada Day barbecue complete with flags and party hats. Most, if not all, members of the family are bilingue—even young—just that the No side was again, but the fear and uncertainty they felt at 1980 are conspicuously absent. That may be because most believe that, as Nicole said, "In solid majority of Quebecers want to remain Canadian, and they'll vote their common sense and vote No on Oct. 30." But it may also be due to a feeling that, as Charles, 67, suggests, "the issues just aren't the same this time around."

That is certainly true with the issue of French language and culture. Like most Quebecers, the Marcottes were deeply concerned by a perceived decline in the use of French in 1980. "The fighting in the streets and streets in Montreal was in English," says Jeanne, who speaks little English. "And almost all correspondence from the federal government was in English. It used to make me mad to receive a letter or a cheque and not know what it was for." The Marcottes supported the Parti Québécois government's Charter of the French Language in 1977. "The only thing," said the ever-polite Charles, "they did right." But they did not share the sovereigntist view that independence was the best way to protect French. They were satisfied that, by 1980, the federal Official Languages Act of 1980 and the PQ's own sweeping language law had already made French more secure. Charles now dismisses the language issue as "a Montreal problem," due to the high concentration of anglophones and immigrants there in the Quebec City region, which is 95 percent francophone. "The only English you hear is from tourists."

One more that is, however, still very much the same is 1995 is the debate over the economic consequences of separation. And, as in 1980, the Marcottes are deeply concerned about the impact that separation would have on the family business. In 1980, Charles and Jeanne bought a hotel-resort near St. Anne's Basilica, a Roman Catholic pilgrimage site on the Côte-de-Beaupré just east of Quebec City that attracts more than a million visitors a year. After building up the enterprise—where they lived together with the children in a small home behind the kitchen during the busy summer months—they sold it and bought a large summer home down the street in the early 1980s. In 1980, they feared that separation would cut Quebec off from the world, destroying both the economy and the tourist trade that was the town's lifeblood.

In 1995, that concern has not changed. While they believe that a new economic partnership with Canada would, in the long run, ensure eventually be possible in the event of separation—"it'd be enough for a while but the anger of Canadians would help them," says Jeanne—they don't that separation would be a big economic step backwards for Quebec. "I don't buy the PQ's gobble that everything is going to be better after separation," says France's 34-year-old husband, Alain

Plante, who voted Yes in 1980 but plans to vote No on Oct. 30 for economic reasons. "The world has opened up tremendously in the past 15 years, the language of business is English, and Quebecers are successful. Why would we want ourselves into a corner now?"

The issue of citizenship is also vital for the Marcottes. Most of their fervently opposed independence in 1980 because of their strong emotional attachment to Canada and their identity as French-Canadians. They developed those feelings at an early age, growing up in strong federalist Liberal households, and reinforced them as the 1950s during frequent family trips abroad. One notable trip came in September, 1952, when Charles and Jeanne joined the approximately 2,000 Canadians who travelled to Moscow to attend the final four games of the Canada-Soviet hockey series. Country Premier Jacques Parizeau's 1995 trip from Montreal to Calgary, during which he claims he became a convinced separatist, the Marcottes' voyage to Russia was a defining moment in their Canadian patriotism. "It was unbelievable," says Charles. "There was a party back at the hotel after the last game where French and English were singing of Canada and hugging each other. It never forget it." Those emotions

are still very strong in 1995. "Canada is my country," says Nicole, who is expecting her first child in November. "I don't want to change it for a new smaller one."

At the same time, however, the past 15 years have convinced the Marcottes of the need for fundamental change in the federal system. "We live in a dream country, but there's a way to much better," says Alain Plante. "We have a decentralized and get rid of the endless waste from the overlap of services between governments." The Marcottes have also developed a stronger sense of their identity as Quebecers—a word that was once identified with separatists and sovereignty. Charles says he is happy to see the No forces using the Quebec flag prominently in their advertisements in this campaign. "This shows people," said Charles, "that they are Quebecers and Canadians."

The growth in their Quebecers identity is partly a result of the feelings of solidarity and the "us-against-them" mentality still growing among French-Quebecers in the wake of the repatriation of the Constitution without Quebec's signature in 1982. "It was a shock to me," says Charles—followed by the failure of the Meech Lake accord in 1990 and the defeat of the Charlottetown agreement in 1992. At the same time, the Marcottes, like most Canadians, including Quebecers, are weary of seemingly endless constitutional battles. And while they would be distraught if the country split, they are skeptical of both federalist and separatist politicians. All those factors have made them fatalistic about the possibility of a Yes victory on Oct. 30. "There have to be changes to ensure the future will be bright for coming generations," said Jeanne, who now has a 10-year-old granddaughter, Catherine. "Whatever the outcome, the sun is going to rise on Oct. 31." □

## It was almost embarrassing to say that you were a federalist



**Credits on the table: A solid majority want to remain Canadian**





# WHAT A NO MEANS

## Even if the federalists win, Canada will change

BY MARY JANIGAN

It is the morning after Quebecers have declared No to sovereignty—and the nation goes in collective relief. Across the land, fireworks master their trick or treats for the frivolous fun of Halloween. The financial markets adjust to the comforting tidings of stability. Politicians on both sides measure their dreams against their reality—and decide their futures. Canada remains whole.

But those who assume that nothing has changed are mistaken. Throughout the campaign, as the neck-and-neck polls have clearly illustrated, Quebecers came dangerously close to leaving the federation. That flirtation with sovereignty indicates a deeper disorientation with how governments work. And the issue has not been lost on Ottawa or the other provincial governments. If the No forces win by a relatively small margin—less than 55 per cent of the vote—there will be enormous pressure for change in the division of responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments. If the No wins by a large margin—in the range of a 60-40 split in favour of federalism—that pressure will be somewhat eased. But it will not go away. The consequences of a No



■ Jean Charest's leaders will continue to seek recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, to demand more power from Ottawa and a vote over constitutional amendments



### POLITICAL

If the No forces win by a large margin, the political landscape of Quebec could drastically alter. Because pollsters assume that 90 per cent of non-federalists will vote No, the Yes side need only win 45 per cent of the votes to claim that most French-speaking Quebecers opted for sovereignty. If the Yes side receives only 40 per cent or less of the vote and the No side enough to win, the force of the separatist cause could well slide far another generation. In such circumstances, Premier Jacques Parizeau, who has debased his political career to the goal of independence, would probably resign within six months. René Lévesque's son Lucien Bouchard would probably resign his parliamentary seat—and replace Parizeau.

Without its charismatic leader and his meeting cause, the Bloc would likely fade as a force within Parliament. Some of its disillusioned MPs might well stay on, arguing that they are needed to defend

the interests of a weakened Quebec, but others would gradually resign. The Reform party would then take its place as the official Opposition—and would shift the focus of its attack on Carmona debate to its western perspective. Whereas the Bloc concentrated on separation and attacks on spending cuts in social programs, Reform would redouble its push for faster action to control Canada's debt and deficit. In response to such relentless pressure, the federal government could cut program spending far more deeply.

If the No forces win at less than 55 per cent, the Yes forces will produce a more vicious. They will likely insist that the majority of francophones want sovereignty. And they will remind the rest of Canada, with chilling accuracy, that the issue has not gone away. In such circumstances, Parizeau will likely remain in power, squabbling with Ottawa and complaining about Quebec's humiliating position. Bouchard, Bouchard and the Bloc would likely remain as a force within Parliament, arguing that they must stay to prevent an assault on Quebec's interests. Just as the Yes forces will be humbled but not crumpled, the No forces will be coped chastened. Because Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and such powerful Quebec ministers as Francis Mulcair and Paul Martin drove themselves into the campaign, a narrow No victory will constitute a considerable setback to their credibility in

■ Macleod: 'We also believe that change has to take place. The process is there'



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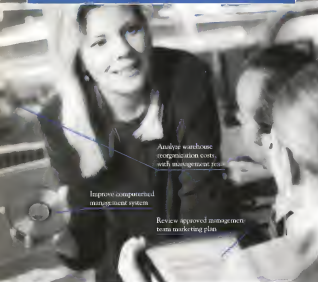
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numbers

their future provinces. That, in turn, will add urgency to their efforts to reform the federal system. As well, Chretien is likely to shuffle his cabinet to highlight his strong members and eliminate any sources of misrepresentation.

## ECONOMIC

The federal ministers have been relatively optimistic throughout the referendum campaign about the prospect of a No victory—although they have grown jittery as the Yes side surged in the polls. As a result, in the short term, there are not likely to be big changes in the level of the Canadian dollar or interest rates. If the No side wins narrowly, the dollar may rise marginally and interest rates may fall slightly. If the No side wins by a narrow margin, or the prospect of future instability triggers like state capital strikes in the air, the dollar could drop slightly.

It is in the longer term that Canadians will reap the benefits of a No vote. After a slowdown during the first six months of this year, the Canadian economy is slowly recovering. Its prospects look good: the economy of its largest trading partner, the United States, is picking up steam; interest rates are falling at moderate levels. Political stability will ensure that road, shifting the dollar and interest rates from the wild roller-coaster ride that market investors can launch. Says Tom Carmichael, chief economist at J.P. Morgan Canada in Toronto: "We are looking for a good environment in the Canadian economy next year: unemployment rate down, growth rate up, getting to around four per cent in the first six months, and interest rates slightly higher, but only as a reflection of the fact that the economy has been almost static a lot longer."

Basically, such a low growth rate will be an enormous help to the Quebec government because they will generate needed tax revenue. Throughout the referendum campaign, the financial community largely ignored Quebec's difficult deficit and debt problems—albeit because it did not want to rock the boat. If the No side wins, there will be no excuses: market pressure will force the government to get its fiscal house in order. By March 31, 1996, the province's debt will hit \$28.4 billion—or more than \$20,000 per person—the highest in Canada. That figure could go higher if Quebec does not achieve its optimistic deficit target of \$3.9 billion, down from \$5.7 billion in 1994-1995. Even if the No side secures only a narrow victory, cuts at Parliament persist in its scaling up plans on the federation, the government will have to focus its attention on the economy.

## CONSTITUTION

The rest of Canada may grow from sheer constitutional exhaustion—but many Quebecers, including provincial Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, remain adamant that there must be reform. At the very least, these Quebecers want the Constitution to affirm Quebec's position as a distinct society, to give more powers to the

COVER

provinces and to recognize a Quebec right to veto national matters. After two failed attempts at constitutional change in less than a decade, the rest of Canada is understandably reluctant to risk another damaging round of talks. But it is unavoidable: according to the Constitution Act, 1867, the Prime Minister and the provinces must meet before April 17, 1997, to review the provisions of the amending formula. And there is nothing to stop any leader from raising other constitutional issues then.

Still, it is difficult to believe that such conferences will produce results. The Parti Québécois will still hold power in Quebec City—and it is in its interests to prove that federalism does not work. Meanwhile, westerners, especially those from Alberta and British Columbia, have grown increasingly impatient with any proposal that would grant special status to Quebec. As Patrick Monahan, a law professor at York University's Osgoode Hall, says, "While the Prime Minister has to take account of Quebecers' desire for some kind of new arrangement within Canada, I cannot see that there can be any value in investing federal negotiators. It would be counterproductive because it would put out up with another chance for Mr. Pearson to have another referendum whenever those negotiations failed—as inevitably they would. Instead, what Ottawa has to do is to pursue its line from the 1995 budget: it is pulling back for fiscal reasons from areas of social policy."

In fact, the federation is changing—in ways that will affect almost everyone's daily life. For almost four decades, Ottawa has used its immense spending power to fund programs in areas of potential risk, and to set the rules for those programs. That clout is eroding. In its February 1995 budget, Ottawa announced that, over the next two years, it is cutting about one third from the \$18.8 billion in costs that it now transfers to the provinces for health, postsecondary education and welfare. To compensate for that reduction, it will remove most of its conditions on how that money is spent on April 1, 1996. As Ontario Premier Mike Harris noted in a recent speech to Toronto's Canadian Club: "Critical issues mean that no single government can dictate uniform behavior across the country."

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, intergovernmental aid. Affairs Minister Marcel Massé is reworking the cabinet committee to review, systematically, all federal programs. Since mid-1994, under Massé's chairmanship, that committee has applied a tough test to all federal programs: can another level of government deliver this service more efficiently? If the answer is yes, Ottawa will scrap the program. It has, for example, turned over the administration of large airports such as Ottawa's to regional community authorities. Massé told Massé's that program review constitutes "true reform" of the federation. "A number of the programs have indicated that they want change," he said. "We also believe that change has to take place. The process is there. And we are going to use its efficiency criteria to help the taxpayer." In the end, it may be that such painstaking progress goes further along the road of reform than any grand constitutional conference could.

If the No side wins  
narrowly, the prospect  
of instability remains

**New Deal and Freeman at a Quebec market in Calgary—both support for any special concessions for a separate Quebec**



# 'ALL OR NOTHING'

**W**hen Peter Warren, a popular talk-show host at Winnipeg's CIOB radio station, raised the Quebec referendum question last week, the phone lines immediately lit up. In the space of 30 minutes, Warren fielded 34 calls. There was a sprinkling of sentiment along the lines of "goodbye, good riddance" and "if they want to go, let them go." But most of the callers and they trooped Quebec would choose to stay in Canada or—in the very least—until Quebecers should know better than to leave. "Please stay, say No," one caller pleaded. Warren, who has talked often about the referendum on his *Athlas Live* program, later told *Maclean's* that the day's reactions were typical. "People are saying, 'Look, we must join to stay,'" he said. But they are also saying, "We aren't going to go through this again."

This sentiment—that a No vote in the Oct. 30 referendum should finally put the Quebec question to rest—seems prevalent not only in the West, but across all of English Canada. For a clear reason that fails to take the issue either way, say 51 per cent to 49 per cent. As Gerwin Goodwin, a Calgary business resources consultant, put it, "Then the situation will just have changed very much—it will carry on

## The rest of Canada says Quebec must choose

voices of Alberta and British Columbia, that while Quebec separatism might cause deep sadness, it would not produce irreversible economic difficulties. Western Canadians do not resent Quebec, but they do not seem passionately involved in the debate, says Diane Douglas, a 49-year-old University of Calgary communications instructor who attended a recent private address in Calgary by former prime minister Jean Charest. "It's not a topic that has been around the block as many times, with all its threats of dire consequences," says Douglas, and it never happens."

There are, of course, diverse opinions. That one widespread argument in Alberta, at least, is that the province is a natural ally of Quebec because both favor a transfer of federal powers to the provinces. And Reform party leader Preston Manning is also reflecting a common view when he tells Quebecers that, if they vote No, they can count on numerous, English-Canadian support for a more decentralized federation. Manning has also challenged Prime Minister Jean Charest to confirm that a No vote should lead to a changed federation while a Yes vote means Quebec is completely out of Canada—and that the dividing line is 50 per cent plus one.

Charest, refused to be tied down—his strategy all along has been to leave the Yes vote to make its case and to promote as little as possible—and No campaign money quickly landed Manning a solid political opportunity. In western Canada, that reaction struck many as an effort to stifle regional voices—a view underscored in a recent letter to the *Calgary Herald*, which argued that "these spending the united of Liberal Tory myths that have given us 35 years of constitutional wrangling do not have a monopoly on patriotism." For all that, Angus Reid's campaign agrees that Manning's move is politically risky. In polling, Cameron says, Albertans overwhelmingly say they are

out here," says Scott Barrett, the 39-year-old mayor of Banff, a town of 3,800 in southwestern Saskatchewan. In that as any Quebecer will separate—they've got everything going for them." By contrast, one commentator who confides that he is "somewhat scared" that the separatists might carry the day in 1995, the Vancouver open-line radio host and former B.C. cabinet minister who was a high-profile opponent of the Charlottetown accord in 1992. The referendum has generated more interest in the West, says Reid, but it's not clear if it's a net gain. "People are concerned, and in the main they want a No vote," says Reid. "But they also are clear in stating that there must be no special deals for Quebec. Stay, don't vote, whatever, just get it dealt with once and for all."

## I don't know where they feel slighted; I don't know what they feel threatened by'



**Winnipeg open-line radio host Peter Warren must confess: He doesn't know where they feel slighted or what they feel threatened by.**

Canadian First and Albertans second. Manning, according to Cameron, "makes losing some support if he's seen to be running at counter-pressure to union building."

What clearly does color the reaction to the Quebec referendum in the West is the recognition that the national unity bill is in Quebec's court. In Banff, says, 39-year-old housewife Denise Sturges says there is a sense that "we can't do anything about it." Sturges compared the referendum debate to the O.J. Simpson trial. "It doesn't have anything to do with you but you know anyway," he says. Sturges is quick to add, though, that he does not want it to appear as though people do not care. "We just have as much," he says. "It's just overlaid." In Millerville, B.C., a small community 30 km east of Vancouver, Michelle Roy says that the Oct. 30 vote is not a daily topic of conversation. Still, Roy, a 35-year-old housewife and nurse, expresses frustration that the rest of Canada has as say in the decision. "There should be more input than just from Quebec," said Roy. "The opinion of winning the province to stay should count for something."

Part of the reason for the lack of fervor around the referendum may be a refusal to consider the possibility of a Yes vote. "The belief

Certainly, there is little support for any special deal that would see residents of an independent Quebec hang on to Cdn. passports and keep using the Canadian dollar. The Angus Reid poll in fact, found that 77 per cent of Canadians outside Quebec rule out letting citizens of an independent Quebec keep their Canadian passports. "It's a no-brainer," says Canadian Laura Gow, 35. "You can't just keep the cool parts." Gow, a photographer, was working part time one recent Friday afternoon at a fruit and vegetable stand at a local farmer's market in north-east Calgary. It was a grey day and there were only a few customers strolling past the colorful autumn selection of apples, pears, cabbage and gourds. Another woman working at the stand, Shannon Erickson, said that she was unable to understand why separatists want out of Canada. "I really do not understand what it is that they truly want," said Erickson, 45. "I just say that if someone is wrong to you saying I don't understand it, I don't know where they feel slighted; I don't know what they feel threatened by."

During previous constitutional debates, individuals, school groups and business associations across English Canada sent warm messages of affection to Quebec, seeking to counter whatever slights or threats its citizens might have felt. During the current referendum campaign, there are fewer such initiatives. But there are some. In Calgary, Associated Golf proctor Richard Rogers provided 300,000 flyers with an appeal that includes "Vive le Canada de la Québec à la Terre du Nord." In Ottawa, Richard, 50, is spending about \$20,000 of his own money to deliver the pamphlets to Quebecers before the vote. "The issue is so important, one has to do everything one could possibly do," says Richard, who was born in Montreal. Quebec, he has lived in Calgary since 1972. "We're all brothers and sisters. We have some problems, but separation is not the solution. It is a passionate belief of Canada, but someone who is born in Quebec and who feels a difference. But many others in Western Canada, watching the distant debate on the nightly news, hearing the clock to referendum day tick down, are simply waiting for Quebecers to make up their minds."

MARY NEMETH is Winnipeg with JOHN DYER in Vancouver.

# Harcourt's headache

The B.C. premier is dogged by a funding scandal

The western side of Galtzoff Island is a vertical wall of grey rock stained black and orange with lichens, a forbidding landscape guarding the entrance to Nanaimo harbor on neighboring Vancouver Island. In a secluded home set among the oaks, pines and arbutus that fringe the cliff top, David Stogard, 74, a former B.C. NDP finance adviser, NDP and federal NDP caucus leader, and his longtime companion, Elizabeth Marlow, live in gracious retirement. But over more than three decades striding well into the 1980s, Stogard and Marlow were central figures in a clutch of closely related nonprofit societies and very much for-profit private companies that operated in the orbit of the Vancouver Commonwealth Holding Society (VCHS)—an organization created in 1954 to serve and disseminate socialist ideology in British Columbia. On paper, the goal never changed: "Our only reason for existing as a society," Stogard wrote in a 1991 letter to its members, "is to help the NDP." At the same time, he added, "The party owes us nothing."

By last week, however, those sentiments were laden with heavy irony for British Columbia's remaining socialists—no, least for beleaguered NDP Premier Michael Harcourt. Far from being the NDP's former auditor's report documenting the Nanaimo society's record of steady financial leakage—completed four months ago but released only on Oct. 25—seemed like a late beyond salvation whistleblower. Harcourt may have had far easier going with his own mandate just the next general election, which he must call within 12 months. Already badly shaken by the Opposition Liberals on public opinion polls, Harcourt and his minister of Finance, Elizabeth Cull, had already demanded that they explain their shifting accounts about the party they knew—and when—about VCHS affairs. Meanwhile, if anyone owed the society anything, it appeared to be Stogard and Marlow themselves: according to the report of auditor Ronald Parks, the party directly profited from their long relationship with the society. Audited Parks "Mr. Stogard used VCHS money as if it was his."

While Harcourt held fast in Victoria with his chances to try to lead a minority strategy, after British Columbians struggled to follow the latest revelations in a scandal that has dogged the government since

1982, and whose roots stretch back more than 30 years. By the mid-1970s, the VCHS had struck a lead-mining gold mine in the form of privately licensed barge permits supposedly held to raise money for charity. But instead of donating its profits



Harcourt allegations that charity profits ended up funding party operations

to charity, as required by B.C. law. Parks found that the VCHS, under Stogard's close, directed as much as 60 per cent of the millions of dollars it earned to other purposes. The firm's share went to pay off debts the society incurred when several ill-fated commercial real estate

investments in the Nanaimo area unravelled disastrously since following the 1981-1982 recession. But, according to Parks, hundreds of thousands of dollars also went to companies controlled by Stogard, his sister Marjorie Stogard, and Marlow. Still worse for Harcourt, however, was Parks's revelation that questionable transactions slowly eroded the Nanaimo society's extruded into the highest echelons of the provincial NDP. Among other things, the VCHS donated \$50,000 earmarked for charity to a party fundraiser and donated the value of hundreds of thousands of dollars in corporate donations. In fact, Parks noted, the society also "acted as a bank for the NDP," a relationship that continued until as recently as 1993, when the party repaid the VCHS

more than \$68,000 for the money that it had diverted to the decade earlier to the party newspaper. That transaction, and Parks's disclosure as an ethical grant.

Parks's disclosures contradicted months of denials by both Harcourt and Cull that any such links existed. In fact, just hours before the auditor's report was released—the order of a B.C. judge responded to a petition from several Vancouver news outlets—Cull stood by the same claim, insisting: "There were no transactions, no money coming from the VCHS to the party."

With those assurances now in tatters, New Democratic Party loyalists were in some-



thing done to shock as they absorbed the full political implications of Parks's report. And, not surprisingly, widespread speculation about an imminent election call erupted after Harcourt last week abruptly ruled out a vote any time soon.

For his part, Stogard has not been charged with anything related to his dealings with the VCHS. However, documents filed in a Vancouver court in support of a police application for a warrant to search VCHS of files in Burnaby, B.C., on Oct. 10 revealed that the RCMP suspected him of more than two dozen fraud-related violations of the Criminal Code. Still, contacted at his home, Stogard's latest seemed to be in good form despite his allegations against him. Citing his lawyer's advice, Stogard restricted himself to the basics of his comments: "I do not want to do anything to make it harder for the party with an election due," he told Maclean's. "I will join a New Democratic, and I support the government." In light of the week's events, it was apparent that Harcourt must fervently wish the party auditor had withheld

COMBS WOOD with JAMES PERRY in Vancouver

# Canada NOTES

## PAYING THE PRICE

Federal Health Minister Diane Marleau said that provinces visiting the Canada Health Act by allowing private clinics to charge extra fees will be hit with financial penalties as early as next month. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, whose province stands to lose \$7 million in federal transfer payments annually, said that he still hopes to convince Ottawa—which had set Oct. 15 as the deadline for abolishing the fees—40 changes to its mind. "I wish they would leave us alone," he said. "We are not breaking the law."

## ABETTING SUICIDE

A Nova Scotia woman became the first person in Canada to be convicted of aiding and abetting a suicide. A Nova Scotia Supreme Court jury found Mary Jane Fogarty, 38, of Halifax, guilty of writing a suicide note for her friend, Brenda Barnes, 36, and of procuring the pills and syringes that Barnes used to kill herself in May 1994. Barnes, who was not suffering from any mental illness, had tried to end her life at least 35 times. Fogarty, who faces a maximum sentence of 14 years, is to be sentenced on Dec. 15.

## \$10-BILLION LAND CLAIMS

Estimates released by British Columbia Aboriginal Affairs Minister Jim Carr show that it will cost Canadian taxpayers about \$10 billion—68 billion in cash and \$5 billion in land—more than twice the original estimate put forward by Ottawa in 1990.

## TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS

Jim Fleming, a two-term Edmonton mayor and longtime socialist democrat, was narrowly defeated by Bill Savits, 38, a well-to-do businessman and conservative. Five other socialist city councilors went down to defeat as voters—concerned that the Alberta capital is falling behind its archrival, Calgary, in economic growth—elected a pro-business city council. In the victory speech, Savits declared: "This city is going to be open for business again."

## A CLOSE CALL

A Canadian Airlines DC-11 jet carrying 289 passengers bound for Taipei narrowly avoided tragedy as it cut off a runway at Westminster International Airport and landed in a hole just 300 metres from George Strait. Canadian Airlines said that the plane's pilot aborted the takeoff after detecting a problem with the landing gear. Five passengers were slightly injured while leaving the plane on emergency evacuation slides.



**PICKETING PROFESSORS:** The 1,100-member University of Manitoba Faculty Association went on strike to a contract dispute over a proposal that would allow professors to be laid off on short notice in the event of an economic downturn. The professors, who earn an average annual salary of \$71,000, say the proposal represents a potential threat to academic freedom and tenure. The strike may set a precedent for campuses across Canada.

## Cleaning house

The Oct. 30 Quebec referendum temporarily took top billing on the province's newsstands and in newspapers in the eyes of Les Males. After losing the first four games of the NHL season—and falling to make last season's Stanley Cup playoffs for the first time in 25 years—the Montreal Canadiens already fired four senior officials, including coach Jacques Demers and general manager Serge Savard. The dismissal of Savard, a former star Canadian defenseman who served as general manager for 13 years, came as a particular shock—since that even prompted Quebec's political class.

Said Quebec Liberal Leader and Premier Jean Charest: "I guess in hockey and politics, part of the job description is that at some point somebody's going to get fired." On Saturday the club reached back into its history and named Brian Hogue as general manager and Mike Tremblay as coach.

In Winnipeg, meanwhile, Jets president Barry Steslow confirmed that the team

will leave the city after the 1995-1996 season. Steslow said that he and his partners had agreed to sell the club for \$85 million to a partnership led by Vancouver health care tycoon Richard Burke.

## Northern upsets

Two cabinet ministers and seven other MLAs went down to defeat in the Northwest Territories election—the last to be held before the scheduled division of the territories by 1999 into the largely land-locked regions of Nunavut in the Eastern Arctic and the open-ocean territory in the Western Arctic. Thirteen contests, two former MLAs and nine incumbents were elected to the 28-seat legislature, which operates on a consensus basis with no political parties. The legislature will meet in late November to elect a new cabinet and government leader (also known as premier). Three of the remaining MLAs—Stephen Kofke and Dan Moran from the Western Arctic, and John Todd from the East—were widely touted as potential candidates for the top job.



## WORLD

# THE NEW MAIN MAN

## Louis Farrakhan marches to power

Except that the crowd was overwhelmingly male and almost entirely black, the spectacle on the Washington Mall last week seemed subtly American. It was just hundreds of thousands of people packing a D-block-long stretch of the grand, grassy park known as America's Main Street. It was huge, perhaps at the dawn of a sunny day, borderlines at dusk. It was powerful, as rousing at times as an old-style evangelist's camp meeting. A collection was taken, lyrics sung, responses shouted as more than a score of editors, And keynote speaker Louis Abdul Farrakhan dwelt on a theme in sanc-

### REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL NOLLINS

With its overtones America's prevailing conservative sentiments—self-improvement, self-reliance, family values. "Clean up, black men," he decreed. "and the world will respect and honor you." The head of the Nation of Islam also brought to the rally a personal record of polarizing controversy: that there was no derogatory message in his stirring role. He tried to lead to lead America's black minority up from a more of social distress

### The controversial black activist addressing the rally: social distress

Farrakhan, master of the event named the Million Man March its playing stages last year, was clearly the main man the multi-racial came to hear. Inevitably he stepped as ever, flanked by uniformed Fruit of Loom bodyguards, to give the purposeful crowd 20 hours of history from behind a bullet proof glass screen in front of the U.S. Capitol building. He raged through arcane calculations of nationalism and racist history of two-race history. He declared that he had been chosen by God to bring black people to that "present moment—present with the possibility of irreversible change in our status in America and in the world."

He sent his listeners in three leagues across the United States—and some 200 back to Canada—pledged to eschew violence, avoid drugs, stop the neglect and abuse of women and children, and build an all-black economy. They were met, at Farrakhan's program, to improve "materially, morally, mentally, culturally, politically and economically for the benefit of myself, my family and my people." The occasion also resulted a man who is both aspected as a violent messiah and accepted as a moral leader towards a vanguard position in America's divided black leadership. "Dominant small reaction," a historic "awakening" that will help the 30 million U.S. blacks fight crime, family dissolution—and, as many speakers stressed, judicial bias. (One speech showed that blacks constitute 12 percent of drug users, but make up 25 percent of arrests, 35 percent of convictions and 74 percent of imprisonment for drug possession.)

The next day, Farrakhan claimed a wider leadership role. Outlining plans for an agenda-setting black annual meeting, he said "You are going to have to live with me." "To name, To a righteous, but to others, the dream come true."

To end the nightmare and end the dream, he critics say, Farrakhan himself must "clean up." Veterans civil rights activist Julian Bond, a board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said that in order to close "his war against other Americans," Farrakhan must abandon "the self-denial, the homophobia, the white-bashing, the Catholic-bashing, the standard charges of hate that have been part and parcel of him for the last 30 years." That reputation prompted the 61-year-old NAACP to refuse support for the Million Man March. It led others, including President Bill Clinton and potential black presidential candidate Colin Powell, to temper criticism for the event's purpose with criticism of Farrakhan's place in it.

Farrakhan, 62, has faced down greater accusations than those that Bond enumerated. After the 1983 assassination of Shabazz X, a black Muslim leader faulted for leading, black Muslims who saw among those who traced blame to Farrakhan. (Early this year, Malcolm's daughter Qubilah Shabazz faced charges, later dropped, of competing to murder Farrakhan.) Two months before the 1985 rally, Farrakhan wrote:

Walton, into the Black Muslim movement. Two decades later, in 1977, Farrakhan joined the leadership of a more hard Nation of Islam. The sect had been founded to include all races after the death two years earlier of its founder, Elijah Muhammad. Farrakhan was about returning to core beliefs based on a twenty-year experience of Islam in 2000—the title of Shabazz, the black man, was Allah's chosen people and African-American needed to assert freedom by "waking up, cleaning up, standing up."

The appeal of Elijah's vision helped Farrakhan rebuild the Nation of Islam's membership from about 5,000 to as many as 100,000 adherents. He has drawn in some personal support by preaching separatism, self-development in place of the traditional drive for government-sponsored racial integration. And as he biographer notes, "his refusal to court the white establishment has drawn the white community of many better-off blacks."

In broadening his base, Farrakhan lately has toned down racial rhetoric. As he expounded on God granting him the idea for the Million Man March, he declared, "I didn't bring it through me because my heart was dark and I was filled with self-loathing." And he offered to talk with Jewish leaders—though he said afterwards, he would not avoid them. "No my love."

His pride is part of Farrakhan's appeal. So is his personal example as a man who cares for his health, his appearance and his family of nine children. He practices against drugs, alcohol and civil disobedience, and his emphasis on self-improvement, strikes a popular note. But far many in black America, and in the white minority, his nation of worshiping the struggle for racial equality is iniquitous.

Against the success of last week's rally stand memories of an earlier "March on Washington" in August 1963, the opposite side of the capital's mall, a throng of 300,000—white and black, men and women—demanding integration in a speech of less than 20 minutes. The drama people in that crowd saw in the belief that the dreamers of all races are bound together. With faith in that, it was greeted, "we will be able to live out of the mountain of despair, a state of hope."

Now, for Farrakhan's separatist vision, it was Malcolm X who had suggested. It was Malcolm X who had suggested the still vivid dream of unity and three decades ago by Martin Luther King Jr.

## A COMMON CHORD IN CANADA

Toronto black activist Charles Roach has taken part in dozens of anti-racist protests. Like many of the 200 Canadians who travelled to Washington for Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March, he came early supportive. Although Canadian blacks leaders with the exception of Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, the key U.S. contacts were that people must take responsibility for their own lives strikes a resonating chord. Like their U.S. counterparts, says Roach, black communities in Canada are



Roach: from Farrakhan's lecture

encircled by youth unemployment and social violence.

"The issues," he says, "are the same in both countries." Henry Bishop, curator of the Black Cultural Centre for New Books in Detroit, is another who says that many of Farrakhan's controversial beliefs, such as the segregation of the sexes. But he, too, wants to see more positive action. Early next month, Bishop plans to stage his own international rally, called Operation Show and Tell, at which 70 black RCMP officers will be heard as role models. Says Bishop, "We want to lead words and change perceptions."

The day Farrakhan spoke, about 50 of his supporters in Toronto staged their own march on the provincial legislature. Among them was Carl Randall, 38, vice-president of the African Canadian Students' Association. He was touched by Farrakhan for personal example, stating candidly: "He didn't treat our women as well as we should, and we could take better care of our families."

But overlooking that message is not as easy in Canada as it is in the United States, where the black community is far more heterogeneous. Blacks here come to Canada from all corners of the world—including the United States and the Caribbean, more lately Africa—and have never been galvanized as a single group. Today, more than 500,000 Canadians are of African origin; they form about nine per cent of the population in both Halifax and Toronto. Nation of Islam, which has many branches in Toronto and Montreal, hopes to unite them through religion, but that has had limited success.

Still, many Canadian black leaders see Farrakhan as a positive force. Roach, a lawyer, says the American has earned respect throughout the community. Dan Philo, president of the Montreal-based Black Coalition, says that he has heard Farrakhan is saying what many blacks want to hear. Says Philo: "They are looking for figure of power with solutions." With no single charismatic figure of their own, many Canadian blacks are turning in Farrakhan's direction.

TOM FENNEL

## STARK CONTRAST

Although blacks make up 12.5 per cent of the U.S. population, they account for 34 per cent of welfare recipients, 29 per cent of people arrested and 34 per cent of those in prison. Further, 48 per cent of the married sons of the black population are unemployed.

	Blacks	Whites
Unemployment rate	11%	6%
Tell in poverty line	31%	12%
Median family income	46%	14%
Per 100,000 people	62%	30%
Per 100,000 people	63	12
Life expectancy (years)	69	76

Source: U.S. Commerce Department

"Such a man deserves death." Twenty years later, Farrakhan acknowledged that his words created a climate that helped provoke the killing. Of widow Betty Shabazz, he said, "I can understand her pain as I hear my own."

It was Malcolm X who had suggested the still vivid dream of unity and three decades ago by Martin Luther King Jr.

## MEASURING EXCELLENCE



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WORLD

BALKANS

## Back to Bosnia?

Canada hedges on committing NATO troops

Two weeks after announcing the withdrawal of Canada's 1,300 UN peacekeepers from Bosnia, Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Chretien found himself in Washington last week, talking about sending soldiers in again. This time, they would be part of an American plan to deploy up to 60,000 U.S.-led NATO troops in the Balkans war zone to enforce a possible peace treaty Chretien would not discuss numbers, but his countenance seemed clear—or did it? "It is necessary to send troops in the ground to support this plan," he said before meeting U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. A day later, Prime Minister Jean Chretien insisted the troops would go "only if absolutely necessary."

The backtrack was not surprising. Still smarting from its participation in the troubled UN mission, Canada has tried to dance around the NATO plan. Under it, some 25,000 U.S. troops would be joined by 35,000 from other countries to establish law and order between the warring Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. This would follow any settlement, emergency relief, disarmament talks at the end of October, when the combatants will crowd in a Dayton, Ohio, air base to finalize their ceasefire U.S.-brokered ceasefire.

"The Americans had hoped that as many as 5,000 Canadian soldiers might get involved. But the number is unlikely to be that large. 'The reality of a day army,'" says Lewis Maclean, a former UN commander in Bosnia, "indicates we can't maintain those levels of numbers overseas." Sources say that as many as 2,000—or as few as 150—Canadian troops could take part. The larger number will be required if Canada wants to restore its battered reputation within NATO, the result of its 1992 gaffe of troops from Europe and its political efforts to thwart NATO air strikes in Bosnia this year. Chretien has made it clear that he feels Bosnia is primarily a European problem, and Canada has long supported the UN over NATO for peacekeeping. But the call of the silence is

strong. "No one," says a Foreign Affairs official, "has the appetite to lay down a marker to NATO saying that we are really not interested."

Even so, the American plan could carry high risks for the participants. U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry told a Senate hearing last week that "the NATO force will be the largest, the toughest and the nearest dog at town."

Given that Washington is also intent on seeing the Serbs' firepower reduced, soldiers such as Maclean believe that the American troops, at the least, could be targeted as hostile by the Serbs. Administration officials argued to Congress that if strong action is not taken to enforce the final deal, a bloody reaction could bring Serbia, Albania and even Greece into the conflict. But support for the plan is lukewarm in Capitol Hill. President Bill Clinton does not need congressional approval. He knows, however, that if he sends in troops on congressional objections and suffers significant casualties, the political fallout could bury him in the November elections next year. Apparently for that reason, the U.S. plan calls for a commitment of about a year.

Some NATO officials hoped that the mid-June week of Wimpey's as secretary-general of the alliance, over corruption charges dating from his time as a politician in Belgium, would clear the way for a stronger figure to make the Bosnia case. But there are other problems. Many feel that Bosnia participation in the NATO mission is vital to ensure the co-operation of the Serbs, who trust their fellow Slavs. Moscow, though, has rejected the idea of putting the proposed 25,000 Russians in the force under U.S. command. Still, Major Peter Devlin, operations officer with the First Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group, which would likely be taken for the mission, says the troops are ready to go when asked. Still he "I can tell you there is expectation here."

DAVID FETTER is Ottawa with  
CARL MAGNAN in Washington and  
BRUCE WALLACE in London



Maclean's: NATO soldiers  
could become Serb targets

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# World NOTES

## A BIRTHDAY BASHING

On the eve of the United Nations' 50th anniversary celebrations, a summit of 193 non-aligned nations—a majority of its members—called for deep reforms of the world body to better serve poorer countries. The leaders, meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, warned against expanding the permanent membership of the UN Security Council to include Germany and Japan without excluding major developing nations such as India and Brazil.

## NUCLEAR-FREE PACIFIC

France agreed to sign a treaty with the United States and Britain to ban nuclear testing in the South Pacific once its current round of tests is over next spring. New Zealand, a vocal opponent of French tests, welcomed the news. But the environmental group Greenpeace called the commitment from Paris a "ploy" to deflect international pressure.

## REBEL CHALLENGE

Cheered by local parents, 100 masked Zapatista rebels marched through a canyon in Mexico's Chiapas mountain region as a rare daylight appearance. On the eve of peace talks with the government, the revolutionaries are poised to become a new voice in national politics after playing a key role in an electoral upset in the area.

## INFERNO IN SRI LANKA

Dense clouds of smoke hung over Colombo as Tamil Tiger rebels bombed two oil depots in the Sri Lankan capital, killing 25 people in apparent retaliation for a government offensive against the separatists' stronghold in the Jaffna peninsula. Nearly 300 people died in the three-day revolt.

## A WORLD BEYOND

U.S. astronomers confirmed the existence of the first known planet outside the Earth's solar system. The planet, estimated to be half the size of Jupiter, is believed to circle its sun once every 4.2 days. But the swiftness of mass apparent is impossible to plant or animal activity. Said one researcher: "Life as we understand it seems very unlikely to be there."

## FREE AT LAST?

Four Western thinkers kidnapped by Islamic militants in the northern Indian state of Kashmir in early July are safe and will enjoy their freedom again, according to reports attributed to a senior Indian official. In August, the captives celebrated a 19th birthday, 27-year-old Noranages Hani Christian Otero.

## TELEvised

**TWEAK:** In the latest in a series of public statements that have fueled rumors of a drinking problem, Russian President Boris Yeltsin pushed a secretary between the shoulder blades as he headed for a Moscow news conference. International news cameras caught Yeltsin breaking this woman and another, both in the general arms of their limousine. That act off seemed speculation about the president's fitness for office—not to mention proximity to the nuclear button—as he headed off on a trip to France next week.



## On alert in Paris

Hundreds of soldiers lined out on the streets of Paris after a home-made bomb ripped through a subway train, wounding 29 people, one of them seriously. The city was in a state of high alert after new bomb threats were received from the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), a shadowy Algerian fundamentalist sect that has claimed responsibility for eight terrorist attacks in France this year, killing seven people, as part of its war against the government in Algeria.

Topping the group's list of demands was a call for French President Jacques Chirac to cancel a meeting this week with Algerian leader Gen. Liamine Zeraoui at the United Nations. French officials insisted that the meeting would go ahead, despite criticism from some of France's own opposition politicians. Zeraoui is the main candidate in the presidential election set for Nov. 30. Islamic parties are barred from the poll, and other opposition groups are organizing a boycott.

Islamic were outraged in 1993 when the military-backed government in Algeria cancelled a round of elections that Muslim-based parties were expected to win. Increasingly, they have accused France of supporting the

Algerian regime. The G8 also demanded that Paris cut off its aid to Algeria and close its embassy there. French authorities responded by stepping up security and warning the remaining 1,500 French tourists in Algeria to leave for their own safety. "We have mobilized like never before," said Interior Minister Jean-Louis Debré. The French government also cautioned the country's journalists against traveling to Algeria to cover the election, fearing they too will become targets in an Islamic insurgency that has already claimed as many as 40,000 lives.

## Blasting Medicare

In a reversal of decades of Democratic social policy, this Republican-dominated U.S. Congress moved to slash Medicare spending by \$200 billion. President Bill Clinton immediately announced he would veto the new bill, passed by the House of Representatives and expected to clear the Senate in similar terms. Clinton said the measure would "destroy" Medicare and threaten the health care of elderly Americans. Those who backed the bill said they wanted to encourage seniors and others to opt for private health insurance. Democrats had argued for a \$120-billion trim.

# ON WITH THE SHOW

A theatrical boom lures producers, and their money, to Vancouver

Wayne Thompson is no stranger to show-business success stories. As a manager, he has headed book-ings for many well-known musical acts over the past two decades, including The Nylons, Barry Belton, Tonya Tucker and The Canadian Brass. Two years ago, however, Thompson began to shift his attention towards the growing market for live theatre. He also moved his business from Toronto to Vancouver—glittering, along with letter-knives producers such as Garth Drabinsky, that the West Coast city is poised to become a major theatrical centre. Says Thompson, "I feel I am in the right place at the right time."

In Thompson's native Toronto, of course, the boom in commercial theatre is nothing new. The trend began to take root back in 1985, when producers Marlene Smith and Tina Vanderblyden mounted a Canadian version of Andrew Lloyd Webber's hit musical *Cats* in the refurbished Elgin Theatre. Since then, lavish productions of *Phantom of the Opera*, *Les Misérables* and *Miss Saigon* have helped to secure Toronto a reputation as the third-largest theatre centre in the English-speaking world, after New York City and London. And with increasing ticket sales has come a boom in construction: two of Toronto's four major theatres were built in the past five years. Together, the four seat more than 52 million worth of tickets a week.

Toronto is not the only Canadian city to feel the effects of the theatrical boom. In recent years, rising productions of *Cats*, *Les Misérables* and other such megamusicals have played in Vancouver, Montreal, Ottawa and Calgary. And next month, Vancouver will officially stamp megamusical theatrical status with the opening of the new Ford Centre for the Performing Arts, a \$30.5-million, 1,850-seat auditorium designed by renowned Canadian architect Moshe Safdie. Owned by Drabinsky's Live Entertainment unit of Canada Inc. (LiveEnt), the theatre



The cast of *Uglydeltable in rehearsal*: Thompson (left) 'I feel I am in the right place at the right time'

will open on Nov 2 with a special concert by long Award-winning B.C. artist Currier, a native of Cranbrook. B.C. A month later, the curtains will rise on Drabinsky's production of *Show Boat*, which played for 50 weeks in Toronto before closing to make way for last week's premiere of *Sunset Boulevard* (page 62). Current plans are for *Show Boat* to run at least nine months in

Vancouver before moving on, probably to Los Angeles and Hawaii.

Another sign of Vancouver's growing demand for live theatre is the number of older venues that have been, or are scheduled to be, renovated to house new productions. At the 1,500-seat Vogue Theatre on Granville Street, Thompson is preparing to launch a new revue based on the life of painter and singer Nat (King) Cole, who, in the 1950s, broke many racial barriers and became one of North America's most popular entertainers. Thompson and his company, Strident Theatrical Inc., spent more than eight months in negotiations for the worldwide theatrical rights to the story, besting out such larger competitors as Walt Disney Co. "We were the little guys who convinced the Cole family that we would honor their



Drabinsky's new Ford Centre in Vancouver: a home for megamusicals

memory of their father," the producer says.

Unlike the megamusicals, Thompson's show, *Uglydeltable: The Music of Nat (King) Cole*, has an elaborate costume or helicopter descending from the ceiling, but with a 15-piece band and moving sets, it was still so large as to concern and develop "It is probably a \$3-million show, but because of the creative challenge it offered its participants, and through shrewd negotiating, we were able to do it with a \$1.5-million investment," says Thompson. "And that is light by international standards."

Because his project is the first of its kind ever authorized by the Cole family, Thompson reckons he spent about \$250,000 just on legal and accounting fees. Another \$300,000 has been set aside to market the show in and around Brazil, Colombia, with the rest of the budget going for creative staff and construction. "To give you an idea of what we're up against, *Show Boat*'s advertising budget for their Vancouver run is greater than the budget for our entire production."

Despite that, Thompson hopes to make money down the road by licensing his show in other markets. Even before a single note at *Uglydeltable* had been sung in Vancouver—performances began Oct. 27, after two weeks of previews in Victoria—Thompson had sold the show under a "subject to closing" clause to investors as far away as Japan, Holland and Brazil. In each country, the plan is to strike a deal with a local partner, while retaining creative control over the production and receiving a share of the box-office take.

In Canada, experience has shown that there is a healthy market for such smaller-

scale commercial productions. By far the most successful example is *Forever Plaid*, a New York-based revue which, the *Uglydeltable* capitalists on nostalgia for the music of the 1950s. Toronto-based Fallows Lattimer Productions, which brought the show to Canada in 1989 with an initial investment of \$500,000, has now rung up more than \$17 million in box office receipts with productions in Toronto, Calgary, Ottawa, London, Ont., and other cities. In Vancouver, Fallows Lattimer forged a partnership with Vanderblyden, another producer who has relocating to the West Coast. Having just wrapped up a 16-month stay, *Forever Plaid* now stands as the longest-running professional theatrical production in Vancouver's history.

That success is part of a much wider trend: overall, North American box-office receipts for live theatre soared to \$1.5 billion, the highest ever, last May, from \$595 million a decade earlier. One obvious reason for the enormous inflame of Lloyd Webber: "I think *Cats* was the first big show to change the format of what a theatrical presentation had been in the past," says

Ronald Andrew, theatrical division director of Toronto-based Concert Productions International (CPI), which produced the rock opera *Jesus* in Toronto. "After that, many producers incorporated special effects and wonder like music—suddenly, you had the best aspects of the entertainment industry all on one stage."

Another factor, Thompson says, is the aging of the baby-boom generation. For many boomers, live musical theatre—even with tickets priced as high as \$80—qualifies as an affordable luxury. "Theatre, by itself, means something and costs a lot—it has an 'wow' feel to it, and I think that is very appealing to this group," says Thompson. Duncan McLeod, resident director of Edmonton's Citadel Theatre, takes that sentiment a step further. "There is a sense of community and a sense of being alive, both for the audience and the performers," he explains. "There just seems to be some sort of need to participate in a live exchange of ideas and energy."

For all that, live theatre remains a notoriously risky investment—without the spectacular flop of *Nagasaki*, a \$4.5-million production which closed prematurely in Toronto in June, 1994, after only two months. By the same year, Drabinsky's *LiveEnt* lost \$6.9 million on *Kim of the Shogun*, which drew positive reviews in Toronto and New York but small audiences. LiveEnt's major competitors, neither-and-not impresarios Ed and David Mirvish, said last month that they intend to offer live elaborate shows on a week-to-week basis rather than the long-running megamusicals they have staged in the past, such as *Les Misérables* and *After Seigne*. Their most recent big production is the Royal Alexandra Theatre, *Crucy for Now*, will close this week after a 16-week run, without recouping its \$7-million cost. (Most done at the Mirvish-owned Princess of Wales Theatre. Drabinsky's *Beauty and the Beast* recently opened as a five-week lease.)

But in any high-risk industry, the potential reward can be high. Live shows are big. In 1990, the Toronto production of *Phantom* generated nearly as much revenue as baseball's Blue Jays, and its 800,000-person annual attendance equaled that of hockey's Maple Leafs. Since it opened nine years ago in London, the musical has played 27,000 performances in more than 30 states around the world. According to Lloyd Webber's literary United Company, Inc., *Phantom* has generated worldwide gross revenues of \$2 billion, more than *Jurassic Park*, the most successful movie ever made.

With a few exceptions, it is no wonder that producers live theatre tend to pay little attention to the critics—many of whom praise *Phantom* as an overdone, melodramatic display of cliché. The bottom line is summed up by a sign on the back of Andrew's office door: a critique. "There are no bad shows, only bad critics," it says. Says Thompson, "We would surely agree."

JOHN CRAM is in Vancouver

## IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE

North American live theatre revenues, for season ending in May of each year



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# The numbers game

They don't call economics the " dismal science" for nothing. The recovery parade was just getting under way when a double-dip of new economic data began to rain on it.

Now, according to all the standard measures, Ontario is back in the soup. The province has posted two consecutive quarters of "negative growth" in the first half of 1995. Corporate profits were down 28 per cent in the second quarter and 8,000 jobs were lost—principally in the automotive sector. That splash of red ink is all that's required to make an official recession.

Naturally, this was very disappointing—and quite startling—news. Just last year, Ontario's economy expanded at a healthy 5.6 per cent—well ahead of the 4.6-per-cent growth in the national gross domestic product (GDP). How could the province have done so worse, so fast?

But five days after all that gloomy grief was tossed out the rail, our treasury reports began to flash. Canada posted a record trade surplus of \$3.7 billion for August. Furthermore, Statistics Canada attributed about 75 per cent of the surplus to exports of new 1996 model cars to the U.S. market. And since the automotive sector is heavily concentrated in Ontario, maybe the wheels were not about to cease off the provincial economy after all.

At least some of these dramatic economic mood swings may stem from the fact that while so many fundamental changes have taken place in global, high-tech markets, we are still using the same old economic measurements of progress and prosperity. That means the real condition of the economy is often obscured. Even more important, we continue to have government policy tips that those murky readings. And even all the new variables in the equation, it's perfectly possible that some of the items in our economic tool kit have become rather blunt instruments.

For example, classic economic theory holds that there are just two basic elements in the mix: capital and labor. But today, it's impossible to understand



BY DEBORAH McMULLIN

## THE BOTTOM LINE

the impact of technology—well, its disruptive pace of change—on traditional supply, demand and investment decisions.

There is clearly reflected in the flustered performance of high-tech stocks. They have recently rocketed equity markets as investors—well-versed in the quarks of manufacturing or natural resource cycles—sensible to get a grip on the unfamiliar dynamics of a new sector.

It's also worth noting that the New Economy is based so much on stress and intellectual capital as on objects. That, in turn, requires a major adjustment in the way wealth is calculated, as well as a review of the role of governments and other enablers to the market.

The October issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* contains a lengthy polemic that nibbles all around the edges of this very subject. The authors of the piece—who are members of a U.S. economic think-tank—declare that a "positive program indicator" (GPI) should replace the GDP as the key economic indicator. Because the GDP is a crude calculation of total output, they contend that it is a meaningless measure of something as sophisticated as a modern, post-industrial economy. For example, new GPI data doesn't adequately "distinguish between costs and benefits, between productive and destructive activities or between sustainable and unsustainable gains."

For another thing, the GPI might help to address at least one modern-day dilemma: even when the technical signs of economic vigor are strong, people remain anxious and uncertain about the future. In part, the Atlantic article argues, that is because the conventional GDP calculation fails to account for the unseen costs of increased economic activity. Manufacturing output may be up, but those apparent gains may be offset by the damage environmental pollution or the strain on family life caused by overwork.

In the end, it may not be the economy that's sending us mixed messages. It's more likely that our reception of those signals is hopelessly fuzzy.

*Some of the items in our economic tool kit have become rather blunt instruments*

## FREQUENT TRAVELLERS

A new "smart card" system for frequent business travellers between Canada and the United States will be up and running in both countries by next year. Revenue Minister David Anderson says. Under the program, travellers will be able to purchase \$50 cards encoded with passport information, fingerprints and up to 80 pages of text. Machines to read the cards will be installed in major airports across the country, making it possible for holders to bypass customs lines.

## NEW HYDRO CHAIRMAN?

Ontario's new Conservative government is reportedly planning to install the head of its transition team in the chairman's office of Ontario Hydro. Bill Faragout, a Tory businessman and former head of the accounting firm Ernst & Young, would replace current chairman Michael Strong, a millionaire investment banker. Faragout recently completed a report for the utility in which he outlined ways that it could be restructured.

## EX-MGM HEAD ARRESTED

RM agents in Los Angeles arrested Italian financier Giancarlo Pirelli, the former head of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) film studio, Pirelli now faces extradition to France, where he is wanted on criminal charges of forgery, embezzlement and misuse of company funds. The allegations relate to Pirelli's \$140 million purchase of the Hollywood studio using loans from the French-owned Credit Lyonnais bank.

## TRADER PLEADS GUILTY

The bond trader responsible for a \$1.4-billion trading loss at Dow Jones pleads guilty today to conspiring to cover up his losses and embezzling more than \$700,000 for his own use. Toshihide Iguchi, 44, told a federal judge in New York City that he bosses knew about the losses last July but asked him to help them keep the losses from Dow regulators. Dow's senior managers did not report the losses until September.

## ALCAN EYES CHINA

Montreal-based Alcan Aluminium Ltd. hopes to profit from the fast-growing Chinese market by building a large smelter in Shenyang, southwest of Beijing. Alcan chief executive Jacques Bouchard says the company has signed a memorandum of understanding with a Chinese state-owned company and is now seeking joint-venture partners for the project. Aluminium consumption in China, which now stands at 4.4 million a year, is expected to double within a decade.

# Business NOTES



**GLENN BURNER:** Workers at a Ford Motor Co. assembly plant in St. Thomas, Ont., prepare to install four natural gas fuel tanks in a 1996 Ford Crown Victoria SUV. The car is the first factory-produced model in North America powered by natural gas. The four tanks give the car a range of about 800 km, with emissions that are lower than any other internal-combustion engine certified for sale in North America.

## Li gets Gordon

Sheng Hong entrepreneur Richard Li has agreed in principle to take over as the largest shareholder of Gordon Capital Corp., a Bay Street securities firm that has been wracked by managerial misjudging. The 35-year-old son of Baltimore Li Kueibing, Richard Li moved into his first taste of the securities world in 1985, when he was hired as Gordon Capital's executive director of corporate finance—a job he landed primarily because his father was a major client of the company in 1989. He returned to Hong Kong and started Asia's first satellite television service, which he later sold for a personal profit of \$50 million.

Li, who took a 10-per-cent stake in Gordon capital in 1989, plans to increase his interest by acquiring shares from retiring partners and institutional share holders, including Canada Life, General Electric Capital and Kayser Investment Office. If the deal is completed, he will own 40 per cent of the equity and 30.1 per cent of a new class of voting stock. Bay Street

legend James Cameron, who founded the firm and still owns about 10 per cent of it, has agreed to stay on as an adviser.

## High-tech rally

For months, stock market pundits have been issuing doubts about the health of the high-technology sector, warning investors that sharp cuts in many key companies were due for a tumble. But last week, two industry giants reported sharply higher earnings, providing fresh evidence of the global boom in personal computing. Microsoft Corp. of Redmond, Wash., announced a 58-per-cent increase in profits in the three months ending Sept. 30, largely because of stronger than expected sales of its Windows 95 operating system. Intel Corp. of Santa Clara, Calif., the world's dominant maker of computer chips, reported a 41 per cent increase in earnings in the same period. Following the trend, Apple Computer Inc. said its quarterly profits fell 48 per cent. Apple has been struggling to hang on to its seven-per-cent share of the personal computer market.



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that the nature of the violence may be escalating, perhaps ignited on by graphic TV and movie images. Worse, many women are still too frightened to leave abusers who batter, partly because abusive men are far more likely to kill their spouses after they have left the relationship—a statistical fact noted by the prosecution in the Stinson case. "In most of these homicides there is a clear pattern of abuse leading up to the murder," says psychologist Peter Jaffe, director of the London, Ont., Family Court Clinic. "The research shows that the risk for battered women increases by a factor of five after they leave. Friends and family who try to help are almost always wrong."

According to Donald Dutton, a psychology professor at the University of British Columbia who has studied wife assault for two decades and is the author of *The Batterer: A Psychological Profile* (1995), two per cent of Canadian men—about 160,000 people—are "serial batterers" who have the potential to kill their partners. "One of the things we are not doing properly is increasing the penalties for these kinds of repeat assaults," says Dutton. "Looking them up to be the best thing to do—some of these men just can't be treated." The police should also put a much greater priority on reducing restraining orders."

A handful of recent cases have brought that point home with horrifying force. Early this month in Abbotsford, B.C., 60 km southeast of Vancouver, Gap Fournier, 40, was charged with two counts of first-degree murder after his estranged wife, Miriam Fournier, 38, and her boyfriend, Robert Vachon-Rubert, 20, were stabbed to death in the family home while the woman's three young children slept upstairs. In a separate case less than a week later in Coquitlam, 25 km east of Vancouver, Colan Rodhouse, 60, and Henry Rodhouse, 62, were arrested as they were leaving their church after the Thanksgiving mass. Their seven-year-old grandson, Andrew Rodhouse, witnessed the attack but was unharmed. Moments later, their daughter, Jennifer Rodhouse, 25, was stabbed to death outside her parents' nearby home. Darby Richard Bertrand, 28, Rodhouse's estranged husband, surrendered to police at his mother's house in Burnaby, where he was found with the couple's two other children, aged three and one. He was later charged with three counts of first-degree murder.

Both accused men had been under restraining orders not to go near their wives or children. In late June, however, Miriam Fournier complained that her father had not only defied the restraining order but assaulted her twice. Her brother, Mitch Scholten, later said that his sister had talked to many of her friends about the fear she was living with. She told him, he says,

that her calls to police had led nowhere.

The killings seemed to stem even more from B.C. law enforcement officials. Within days, Attorney General Ujal Dosanjh announced that the province will consider electronic monitoring in an effort to keep abusive men away from their estranged wives. Critics, however, countered that the system is unlikely to be a useful substitute for better policing, since the bracelets, which carry the mini-alarms, can be cut off. They were more positive about another govern-



Hansel, Brown  
Stinson (left) is a source of first-hand information that has led to increasing frustration, anger and fear among women.

ment initiative, announced at the same time, of creating a new police squad that will specialize in dealing with domestic violence. The new unit links police with social workers and a special prosecutor, an integrated approach that many advocates say is vital if women are to escape abusive relationships. "More co-ordination means a better chance at getting justice," says Carol Ward-Hill, executive director of Emily Murphy House, a transition shelter for battered women in North Vancouver. "But there is no perfect solution. It someone wants to kill you, they will kill you. There is nothing you can do."

In some provinces, officials are trying to prevent such outcomes with early intervention. Last February, Saskatchewan passed the Victims of Domestic Violence Act, which allows a judge at the time of a temporary restraining order against a spouse as soon as a complaint is made. The order must be reviewed by a judge within three days. In Manitoba, a specialized court called the Family Violence that was established in 1982 to streamline proceedings for

victims of family violence. In addition, police must now arrest a spouse whenever a complaint is made and there are reasonable and probable grounds to believe the assault occurred, the emphasis of the victim is less likely to no longer hold the process. "This policy recognizes that spousal violence is a crime," says Crown attorney Susan Fairley.

Canada's most populous province, however, is moving in the opposite direction. Earlier this month, the Ontario government announced that 50 second-stage shelters for women will lose their program funding at the end of this year. Currently, such residents provide a safe haven for up to a year for battered women who need shelter and emotional support while they look for long-term housing. Staff at crisis shelters (which offer sanctuary for up to six weeks) also say that they are experiencing rates, as the province forget about such domestic violence in shelters. The government has countered that battered women will be able to find similar programs at other agencies, even though the rates are hitting many other areas at the same time, including a 25-per cent reduction in welfare.

The women, who works part-time as a cashier at a clothing store, says that the implications of the housing cuts. After leaving her abusive husband last summer, she has lived at Ontario with her two preteen children and now faces the prospect of leaving much sooner than she had expected.

"My kids carry jitters because they are afraid of their father," she says. "At this point, I can't even imagine leaving."

The danger faced by battered women who walk out on their relationships became possibly apparent in Ontario this month. The same week that the people were murdered in British Columbia, five more died because of domestic violence in southern

Ontario, killing himself and his two children, Cassandra, 4, and Michael, 10. His wife, Lynne Dobson, 38, who had threatened earlier in the evening to leave her husband, was pounding on the apartment's locked door when the gasolene-fueled fire erupted.

If there is one seemingly insurmountable mystery in these tragic cases, it is the emotions of the men who batter. Yet, counselling for men who assault is virtually absent. Their partners also faces abuse cuts in Ontario, despite growing evidence that such programs can be effective for many men. Paul Jaberzinski, who has been counselling abusive men since 1986, says that when they enter the program at Changing Ways in London, they are often cocky, confident and convinced that other men are more violent than they are. "Their overconfidence for control is what most often drives them to violence," he says. Jaberzinski, who is the ultimate control. "Many men who batter do not want to face up to what they have done," Jaberzinski says. "Once they have faced up to it, they have to learn about equality and learn to understand that their ideas about the roles of men and women need to change." At a time when assault rates are rising, more and more headlines that talk topics more pertinent—and more difficult—than ever.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM is a writer with DAVID THOMAS as Vancouver.

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## TURNING HIS BACK ON CANADA



Parizeau's and wife Marlene have "constantly changing his act."



In his new book, *The Canadian Revolution 1985-1995: From Defiance to Delusion*, Peter C. Newman examines, for the first time in such detail, the dramatic defection of Lucien Bouchard from the Mulroney government in 1990. The following article, adapted from the book, is based primarily on interviews with the main participants, as well as excerpts from their private journals and personal diaries.

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**A** matter of attempting to dissuade Canadians to the possibility of Quebec independence, Lucien Bouchard has emerged as the dominant figure in the Oct. 30 vote that will determine the country's future. The dark angel of Canadian politics, he has fashioned a career of defying the odds, auctioning his loyalty to whichever political party offered him the surest path to power.

A complex, paradoxical figure, he has a political credo in changeable as the faces of a puppet's cry. He was never for sale, but his allegiance could always be reused. He switched from a high-ranking position with Pierre Trudeau's federal Liberal government in 1968 to similar duties with René Lévesque's Parti Québécois a decade later; then assumed four-yeared appointments as Brian Mulroney's Conservative government (which included presiding over the 1986 Canada Day celebra-

## How Bouchard defected to separatism in 1990

tions). His dramatic defection to establish his own separatist party, the Bloc Québécois, came at the climax of the Meech Lake accord negotiations in the summer of 1990.

Now, he has pushed Quebec's Premier Jacques Parizeau aside to effectively lead the separatist forces in the referendum campaign, although he seems to be hedging his bets by championing the responsible form of many Quebecers that they can gain independence without surrendering the advantages of remaining Canadian.

Why he abruptly left the federal cause he had supported for the previous half-dozen years has up to now been a mystery. But Bouchard's desperate raised suspicion that he was betraying his oath of office in helping destabilize a government that, as a minister of the Crown, he was sworn to uphold. For that reason, most of the people around him at the time kept private records of the unfolding events. From those diaries, journals and dozens of interviews, it is now possible to reconstruct exactly what happened.

Paradoxically, the defection process began on Feb. 23, 1990, when Mulroney shuffled his cabinet and appointed his friend, Bouchard, as chief political adviser for Quebec. (He had previously been elevated from secretary of state to environment minister.) Here is how, day by day, the most significant political defection in Canadian history evolved.

**Quebec, Que., March 13:** "The meeting of the Quebec Caucus at Meech Lake was a long one with several interruptions, some of them very emotional, on the issue of what we would and would not do if Meech was not ratified." Jean Charest (then a cabinet minister and Conservative party leader) notes in his journal. "At the end of the meeting, Bouchard, as the Quebec lieutenant, rose to speak. He made a short but precise speech to emphasize the need for the Quebec caucus to offer its full support to the PM's ministers to save the accord. He emphasizes that the caucus should support all efforts to

implement the accord until June 23, 1990, and if not approved, the caucus could then weigh its options."

**Ottawa-Vancouver, March 22:** In a national television address, Brian Mulroney explains his proposal for a Canadian special conference on the New Brunswick Compromise. Accord introduced two days earlier by Premier Frank McKenna. Bouchard is in Vancouver, attending the Cdn. 50 centennial products conference. He is upset by the McKenna proposal, particularly its "recognition of linguistic duality" clause, that he phrases his answer: "That's it, Lucien," the title him. "It's time for you to come home now." The next day, Deputy Prime Minister Doug Young announces the government's intention to make a parliamentary committee to study McKenna's proposals.

**Ottawa, March 25:** During a dinner at the residence of Carleton Place, deputy chief of staff of the PM's, the guests (Conservative and Corporate Affairs Minister Pierre Charest and his wife, Chantal; Lucien and Audrey Bouchard; Jean Charest and his wife, Michèle; Doris) are discussing the prospects for Meech when Bouchard loses the fragile room to take a call from Mulroney. Upon his return, he says they discussed how to give the McKenna revolution some running room and agreed that Jean Charest would make the deal chairman for the parliamentary committee studying the issue. Charest is confused, not knowing what to make of the offer, but Bouchard insists, reiterating that he will give Jean his full support. Charest finally agrees to accept the position.

Gallantry later tells Lucien she is worried by industry, Science and Technology Minister Benoit Bouchard's doubts over Meech. Bouchard replies: "Canille, you're not worrying about the right Bouchard. You should worry more about me." She confides to a colleague that Lucien has been seeing very "volatile and intense."

**Ottawa, April 27:** Jean Charest and Lucien Bouchard meet following Quentin Bernard and Chantal tells him he thinks he will recommend changes to the constitution requirement on Senate reform. Charest tells Bouchard that an committee will probably not recommend adoption of a clause for the protection of linguistic duality (the final report, however, makes precisely that recommendation.)

**Montreal, Quebec, May 8:** At a Conservative caucus meeting, Mulroney discusses with Bouchard any possible decisions among the ministers and reviews progress and the special committee. That evening, *Le Devoir* publishes a story quoting Bernard Landry, vice-president of the Parti Québécois, saying that between 20 and 25 Tory MPs are ready to back the party Bouchard assumes Mulroney that it's all nonsense and that he knows nothing about it, repeating his comments—at Mulroney's request—in front of Tory caucus chairman Harvey Adams. Adams, at the end of the meeting, Carleton Place, tells Jean Charest: "Lucien is behaving like a yoyo—he is constantly changing his mind."

**Montreal, May 8:** That evening is the last time Mulroney and Bouchard meet as friends. They attend a dinner at the ManO'Brien for the 50th anniversary of the Cdn. confederation. They both voiced on that anniversary of violence and corruption in the Quebec construction industry. Mulroney gives his lieutenant a lift back to Ottawa on the government's Challenger jet. They spend most of the evening together, but Bouchard never mentions having any doubts about the Meech process or his ability to stay on as minister.

**Ottawa, May 9:** Marcel Dufresne, the Mulroney government's sports minister, is advised of meetings between Parti Québécois vice-pres-



Adapted by the author from *The Canadian Revolution 1985-1995*

From *Defiance to Delusion*, copyright Peter Newman Ltd., published by Progress Books, Toronto



dent Bernard Landry, Jacques Bocharard is political safe to Lucien, but no relation and the separated Tory MP François Gern. The objective of these meetings, he is told, was the formation of a "Bloc Québécois" in Ottawa with the help of the Parti Québécois. Invited to the meetings were 100 anglophones and they were deemed to be "outsiders," like Louis Fleury and Ne Laflamme. Denis is also invited, but declines. Owen later meets Lucien Bocharard in the Corner Brook lobby and with him it is impossible for one of his aides to attend secret conferences with Landry. Bocharard



replies that he was aware of the meetings but didn't take them very seriously. While visiting St. Paul de Vence, where he is staying a few days later, Denis notes Bernard Landry, who was later to be a Parti Québécois candidate in the upcoming provincial election. When Denis declines the invitation, Landry offers to make him a Québec ambassador.

Jacques Parizeau attempts to destabilize the federal government by personally telephone Québec backbenchers to persuade them to defect and form their own party. Mulroney and his people believe the main reason for this activity is to delay publication of the Meech Lake accord, because once passed it would have removed Québec's absence from the 1982 constitutional agreement and undermined much of the separatist cause's drive.

**Ottawa, May 10** As Canada's climate of the environment, Lucien Bocharard prepares to attend the Bergen Conference in Norway, where 500 scientists will be asked to sign a protocol to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, the leading cause of global warming. Canada's delegation includes former PM premier Pierre-Martin Johnson and Arthur Campbell, a former Mulroney law partner if Mulroney who was appointed by him to his special adviser on international affairs to the environment ministry. Prior to his departure for Bergen that evening, Bocharard meets with Bernard Roy, Mulroney's close adviser at the Chateau Marchal. "He expressed his reservation about the federal government's obligation to promote linguistic unity in Canada and therefore in Québec," Roy recalls. "It was a kind of obligation was the price that Québec would have to pay to obtain the aid Mulroney gave him at all provinces, that price would be too high. He would likely go to stop the federal government from leaving Québec's hand."

**London-Bergen, May 11** Bocharard flies to Breznev where he is met by his executive assistant, Martin Green. During the evening, Bocharard seems worried about the upcoming meeting of the PQ ex-

ecutive in Alma Que. In celebration the 10th anniversary of the 1980 referendum. He plans to send a telegram to the assembly and reportedly asks Green what he should say in his message. Green tries to discourage him, stating that a simple word of welcome would be enough. Bocharard then flies to Norway in the late afternoon, where he immediately meets with Pierre-Martin Johnson, who is concerned by Bocharard's seemingly erratic behavior. In conversation with third parties, Johnson is later heard to comment "Lucien arrived at Bergen like a mad dog, his behavior is suicidal."

**Bergen, May 14** In a conversation with Green, Bocharard reveals that René Lévesque had told him: "One day you will be one of those who will replace me." Green observes that Bocharard appears to believe that without René the power of prophecy. Johnson and Bocharard dine privately. Johnson asks him whether he feels it is really appropriate for a federal minister to send a telegram of support on the 10th anniversary of the Québec referendum. Bocharard replies that the meeting was being held in his honor and that he had been asked to write the note by Marcelle Bédard, a former justice minister in the PQ government of René Lévesque. Johnson then tells Bocharard that he should emphasize Lévesque's role, in order to provide Jacques Parizeau.

**Ottawa-Paris, May 15** The Charbonneau committee approves its draft report. Charbonneau unanimously attempts to contact Bocharard, who is holding himself uncommunicative. Although the Bergen conference is not finished, Bocharard leaves abruptly and flies to Paris, where he meets his wife, Audrey, and his son, Alexandre. Canadian Embassy official Marc Lortie meets the minister on his arrival and Bocharard stays at Lortie's apartment on rue Saint-Denis. He extensively refers to talks from Ottawa.

**Paris, May 16** Green arrives at Lortie's apartment in the morning to find Bocharard and his press secretary, Michelle Fortin, waiting on the draft telegram to Alma. Bocharard seems depressed and exhausted. Green and Fortin leave the apartment for lunch. At the restaurant, Green discovers that she has a drink of the nitrogen and asks her to share it with him. As their heads are over, she mentions (but Bocharard specifically ordered her not to show it to him). After sending it, Green declines. "This is a letter of resignation—of Lucien sends it, he'll have no choice but to resign." Green has Fortin call Bocharard to express his concerns. Bocharard sends a message back: "Tell Martin, thank you, I understand."

Fortin sends the Alma telegram via the Canadian embassy. It contains Bocharard's resignation words: "After Lévesque's secretary will come on all this weekend. He was the one who told the Québécois to realize they had the miserable right to decide their own destiny."

**Ottawa-Paris, May 16** Paul Teller, clerk of the Privy Council, finally reaches Bocharard, who is interrupted with his own show. Teller asks Bocharard to withdraw the resignation, which has been reported on the front page of every Québec newspaper. Wrapped in a bath towel and dripping over his hair, Teller's Michel St. Onge, Bocharard's aide, "I don't give a damn about the telegram!" The Charbon report, that the problem. You know I couldn't accept these changes. Wait until Monday, things will be happening!"

**Paris-Montreal, May 20** Bocharard and his party fly back to Can-

da, just before himself, Camille Gauthier reaches Michelle Fortin and asks why the PM was not informed of the telegram. "I'll just tell you," replies Fortin, "you would have ordered me not to send it."

**Ottawa, May 21** A PMO meeting to deal with the Bocharard resignation is held in Room 218 of the Langevin Block. Luc Lévesque, a former chief of staff to Bocharard who left that position to work for Mulroney, dominates a long meeting he had with Bocharard the previous night, in which Bocharard announced his intention to resign because of the controversy surrounding the telegram.

Bocharard meanwhile meets with Teller, who tries to persuade him not to resign because of the press. Teller it would do to the government and his friend, Jean Mulroney. Bocharard remains adamant, but agrees to talk with Bernard Roy—who, along with Mulroney, had been his liaison at Lévesque. Roy writes in his journal shortly after their historic and final meeting: "I pointed to the fact that his own sworn, Jacques Parizeau, had already explained the sending of the telegram for partisan reasons, contradicting on the contrary the message on television with an ironic note that was not necessarily flattering for Bocharard. Bocharard did not budge, in spite of my efforts to bring him to show a minimum of loyalty to the Prime Minister. I reminded him of everything that he had done for him that he did not do for him but duty to the Prime Minister. He said he was tired of having been ostracized by his family and friends and of having been ostracized in the English media, which always brought me against him."

"When I suggested that he should at least have the courtesy of seeing the Prime Minister before making his resignation public, he answered that he hoped he would not have to, so he could avoid a painful conviction that would undoubtedly result from his refusal to reconsider his decision."

Bocharard returns to his office and Roy informs Teller of his an accident conversation. The two men drive to 24 Sussex Drive to meet the Prime Minister. Roy tells Mulroney that the reasons revealed by Bocharard to justify his resignation seemed more like an excuse to quit. His impression is that the decision had been taken a long time before and that Bocharard had deliberately chosen this moment to act, using the Charbon report as an excuse.

Philip Brien (via an friend Bocharard later in the day) "It was a holiday (Victoria Day) but there seemed to be levity about it, his duty ends. "Three employees working on a document on two computers. Lucien seemed angry, exhausted, unattracted. Upon seeing me, he told me about his last few weeks. 'I'm resigning—come and I need for an hour and a half to discuss it, using every argument possible without success. I figured him in was until after June 24, and told him he had no right to do this to his friend. As a last resort, I asked him to remain in Quebec so as not to destabilize the government. Since Green resigned the preceding Friday, some other MPs could follow him and this would prevent the government. At 2:30 p.m. he told me about his last few weeks. As a last resort, I had the feeling of having reached the appeal of a lifetime."

The final meeting between Bocharard and Mulroney is carefully being in dress. The two men cancel their emotions over ending their 35-year friendship and deal with each other as the strangers they have become. "No you have already conveyed to Paul and Bernard that you have no intention of modifying what is probably a necessary

able conduct for a federal minister. I have no choice whatsoever but to demand your resignation immediately, which I am now doing," Mulroney proclaims, in the dry tones of a judge delivering his verdict. "You are no longer a member of my government. There will be the appropriate exchange of correspondence. I have no idea why you did this, one day we will know." The Prime Minister then wishes his former comrade to the door and wishes a goodbye.

(The Bocharard departure, Mulroney later told, was his being told in the back of the head. Mulroney heart was racing during his last years in office. Mulroney knew that politics and genuine were strangers, but believed that friendship was not negotiable.)

The split between the two men was so deep that Mulroney instructed his wife, Helen, that, should Bocharard show up at his favor, she must stop the service and he leaves the church. This belief had been suspicious of Bocharard all along. "When Lucien left, Jocelyn and myself, Audrey," she said, "I had a little reception for the family at 24 Sussex, but I chose not to be there. I didn't like the way it had been handled. After the wife, Audrey would go to my backyard and it was funny how we kept being scheduled at the same times. Once, she came into the room where I was having my hair done, with tears in her eyes, and said, 'You're really sorry about what happened?' I said, 'Look, Audrey, I have no problem with you and I wish you and the baby all the best, but as far as I am concerned, Lucien does not exist.'"

When returning to Bocharard's office that night (May 21) to warn him that he's making a serious mistake, that he's leaving the ship at the most inopportune moment and that if he truly held the success of Meech in heart, resignation was the last thing he should do. "I left Lucien in the two hours of the morning, overcome by a great sadness," he notes in his journal. "In spite of his expressed desire to remain 'good friends,' something nagged and will remain so for a long time."

**Ottawa, May 28** Luc Lévesque arrives at Bocharard's office at 8 a.m. to find that his lengthy resignation letter—which has just been made public—has long before been translated into English, a job that must have taken days. "I then understood the extent of his hatred and how personally dated and betrayed," he writes in a diary, "I felt sick because of what he had done and I said to Lucien, 'You'll never be in my room for under hearts.'"

Bocharard announces his parliamentary staff at 9:30 and tells them he is resigning. He goes on the phone to persuade other Québec Tories to follow him onto a new party.

**Ottawa, June 18** The Meech Lake accord is approved by the provinces without a word or comment being changed, just as Mulroney wanted that it would be. Phased by reporters, Bocharard has no comment.

**Winnipeg-St. John's, June 23** The Meech Lake accord, after being rejected in St. John's and not taken to a vote in Newfoundland, finally dies in Montreal.

**Postscript—Ottawa, some time later** The Vancouver Star's parliamentary writer, Peter O'Sullivan, who the departed minister whether he feels like a traitor to his country "Timothy" Lucien Bocharard never had in surprise. "Timothy" Timor to what? My country is Québec." □



Bocharard as acting environment minister with Fisheries Minister Thomas Siddons in 1989: "I'm resigning—come in!"





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He said...

HE: "How true is an increasing likelihood of infidelity?"

SHE: I believe "tickle" is the operative word in this case.

HE: Apparently...

SHE: Yes...

HE: the first thing people wash when taking a shower is their armpits.

SHE: You've got way too much time on your hands, Don.

HE: Here's something on strange relationships.

SHE: Like this one?

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## THEATRE

# The same old song

Lloyd Webber's latest work verges on self-parody

### SUNSET BOULEVARD

Music by Andrew Lloyd Webber  
Book and Lyrics by Don Black  
and Christopher Hampton  
Directed by Trevor Nunn

**T**he supply of musicals, it would seem, is endless. Just as *The Phantom of the Opera* or *Moulin Rouge* begins to look a little long in the tooth, another multi-million-dollar blockbuster hunkers over the horizon. The latest harbinger to hit Canada is Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Sunset Boulevard*, a \$45-million remake of the classic 1950 film directed by Billy Wilder. Now into its third year in London and approaching its first anniversary on Broadway, it premiered last week in Toronto to a blasphemous audience that included Ontario Premier Mike Harris and singer Patti LaBelle. The show—which has a top ticket price of \$95—is the story of an impoverished Hollywood film writer, Joe Gillis (Eric Smith), who has not been able to sell a script for months. Faced with an agonizing return to his newspaper job in Ohio, he meets former silent-film star Norma Desmond (Dolores Costello) and settles in with her at her ghoulish *Sunset Boulevard* mansion. In time, he becomes the lusty man of the elderly woman—a choice that ultimately proves tragic.

Of all the past decade's musicals, *Sunset Boulevard* is the weakest. The best music as it is a brief quote from the film's score. The rest sounds as if Lloyd Webber composed it while watching television—*et* *voilà*—a rapid succession of the triteball lines: "Norma, he loves me, he loves me not," as Norma is shown in *Jeopardy* and the *Answer* *Trunk* *Donovan* and *The Phantom of the Opera*. The score does have a certain musicality, and it is packed with Lloyd Webber's signature lyrical flourishes that the whole thing verges on self-parody—a bag of tired tricks that may well amuse the imagination of Lloyd Webber's creative poster.

The book and lyrics by Don Black and Christopher Hampton do not help much either. "Beautiful and strong/Before it all went wrong/She never knew the meaning of our tender," wails one singer of Norma, this is



Costello: self-washed dress by any standards

self-washed dress by any standards. Meanwhile, the song dialogue is so banal that it would hardly be surprising to hear the performers discussing what they had for breakfast. The quality goes up considerably when over the writers' morose checks of dialogue from the original movie. But, even here, the musical turns the film's bleakly ironic and understated wit into a kind of vaudeville.

The staging, sets, costumes and lighting are all excellent. The chorus and supporting performers are solid. Dolores Costello brings a large and relentless stage presence to Norma, but is unconvincing when her role calls for pathos. Smith creates a nicely ambiguous portrait of a man who, in effect, is being swallowed alive by a mother figure. But the logical drop-out of this story cannot wait. *Sunset Boulevard* is enough to send audience members out of the theatre nostalgically humming the tunes from some other musical.

JOHN REMICK

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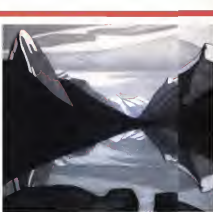
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What Matters to Canadians

The cost of the first catalogue was a dime, while the most expensive paintings—two Lawrence Morris works, one depicting a waterfall and the other a ramshackle row of color-plastered shacks in a desolate Toronto slum—were listed at the hefty price of \$1,800 each. “The group of seven artists whose pictures are here exhibited have for several years held a like vision concerning Art in Canada,” read the pamphlet’s foreword. Stretched across the walls of the Art Gallery of Toronto, the 151 works of the miscelaneous cabal of artists known as the Group of Seven defied prevailing art wisdom and, by some accounts, good taste. Generally, the brilliant tumble of reds, yellows and blues raked across their raw northern landscapes outraged a good number of critics. But on this occasion, a 30-day art show in the spring of 1920, few people of note bothered to show up. In fact, the group sold only three paintings, two oil sketches and one pencil, and not enough canvases to meet printing expenses. “It seems probable,” wrote J. E. H. MacDonald, the group’s founder, “that we shall have to pay, as usual, for the privilege of giving the Toronto public an art education.”

Perhaps the lesson could have ended there, in yet another flourish of avant-garde art. Instead, 75 years after that inaugural exhibition, the paintings of the Group of Seven are seen, not only of domestic art but, arguably, the country’s very identity. Now, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa is marking the 75th anniversary of that milestone show in a major exhibition called *The Group of*



Lawson's *A September Gale*, Georgian Bay; MacDonald's *The Tangled Garden* (left); the seven are among the best artists to have depicted Canada, with images engraved on the national psyche

# Beauty and the bush

*A major show celebrates the Group of Seven's devotion to the rugged and the wild*

Seven. Art for a Nation. Running in Ottawa until Dec. 31, and then travelling to the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto (Feb. 13 to May 23, the Vancouver Art Gallery (June 18 to Sept. 20) and the Montreal Museum of Fine Art (Oct. 1 to Dec. 1), the show painstakingly charts the group's evolution from 1920 until it disbanded in the early 1930s. According to Charles Hill, curator of Canadian art at the National Gallery and organizer of Art for a Nation, the seven painters never set out to sketch a national identity. “If the image of the Group of Seven has been used as a cliché of nationalism, it was not of their own making,” he says. “Rather, the debate they ignited was at the core of Canadian modern art.”

That debate had everything to do with shaping a meaningful contemporary culture. In front of three exhibits—the seven—MacDonald, A.Y. Jackson, Lawrence Harris, Arthur Lismer, Frank Carmichael, Fred Varley and Franz Johnston—were for the most part passionately true to their belief that a young and untamed country warranted a bold and distinctive style. As Jackson wrote soon after in 1922: “The modern painter either stagnates, imitates or creates anew, which perhaps in such a young country is better than to go to sleep



Harris's *A Side Street and (top) Mollie's Lake, Jasper Park*—the belief that a young, untamed country warranted a bold style

too soon.” Central to the group's mission was the need to explore and embrace Canada's wild and rugged beauty. “The country was exciting: the atmosphere clear and sharp, the colors bright and crude if you will,” Jackson reported after one northern Ontario sketching trip. In the face of such blissing beauty, he added, “Way stick to the bargain: why paint cows and sheep and rural tranquility?”

The group's decision in 1920 to assemble their works for showing provided a united front dedicated to wrestling Canadian art, and art collection, from the prettily stylized sylvan confines of traditional European art. While vulnerable individually to criticism, together as a group they virtually cemented their own art establishment. The artists had their ardent supporters—one confessed that their work was as distinctly Canadian as the United Church of Canada. But more vocalism, at least early on, were the detractors. One critic dismissed their canvases as “garish . . . loud, affected, breathless.” Their



severest critics were appalled by what they considered the glorification of irredeemable ugliness. “Ugly things in art are like ugly things in life,” snarled Hector Charlesworth, a sometimes fan and ultimately savage foe. “One does not wish to live with a picture of a slum any more than he wishes to live in a slum.”

The National Gallery show explores the group's defiant attitude through 280 paintings, watercolors, drawings and prints. Also included are works by group contemporaries, including Emily Carr, Bertram Brooker and Prudence Heward. Visitors to the National Gallery can also wander over to the undisturbed permanent collection

room of 60 oil sketches and 10 canvases by the group's forebear and inspiration, Tom Thomson, who died in 1917. (Thomson's work is currently being showcased at the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg, Ont., near Toronto, in a show featuring more than 300 creations by him and the Group of Seven.) That exhibition, which opened in the summer, has proved so popular—47,000 visitors, at last count—that it has been extended three months, to next March.)

Silly, most Canadians are able to name more members of the Seven. Fewer than at the Group of Seven. Not many guess at one at the National Gallery here, less engrained on the national psyche—the images of jagged pines etched against a cascade of clouds, wind-whipped lakes and barren rocks, remote, starkly mountain peaks—and, in Harris's *Shoals*, desolate limestone jetties with yellow windows and blue

doors that, according to one effusive writer of the group's art, “tap out of the naked plaster like poppies stuck in skulls.”

By changing Canadian art, the Group of Seven forever altered the way Canadians look at their country. They were, of course, not the first artists to depict Canada, but they remain among the best. It is little wonder that the works of a remarkable and diverse group of painters are enshrined in the national consciousness, as real in the earth and sky that spawned them.

E. KAYE FULTON in Ottawa

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## BOOKS

# Northern nightmare



Warren during his trial, estimated to be the first time he was caught in the web of his lies.

## Chronicleing a mass murder and its aftermath

**THE THIRD SUSPECT**  
By David Staples and Greg Owens  
(Owl Deer College Press, 679 pages, \$29.95)

After Norman Houle died in a September, 1980, underground explosion at Yellowknife's Giant gold mine, his widow, Doreen, descended into her own private hell. For months, her subconscious blocked out all memory of the event. She spent day after day in her bedroom as her sister brought her tea, cigarettes and what little food she could keep down. Once she recovered her memory, she slept fitfully, dressed in her husband's pajamas and was plagued by dreams of him. She felt women to seizures that left her feeling dizzy and shaky, but then she told. She contemplated suicide. After a return visit, Roger Warren, was charged with setting the bomb that killed Houle and eight other men. Doreen attended his trial in Yellowknife daily. She prayed that he would be found guilty, but cautioned herself with a self-talk option: "If

the jury failed to convict Warren, she would buy a gun and shoot him. And she would feel no remorse.

As recounted in *The Third Suspect*, Doreen Houle never had to consider executing this plan. In January 1980, Warren was convicted on nine counts of second-degree murder and given a life sentence with no chance at parole for 30 years. This ended one of the most intense manhunt and bizarre murder trials in Canadian criminal history. Covering it all were a pair of Edmonton Journal reporters, David Staples and Greg Owens, who have put together an intriguing account of how and particularly heinous act of mass murder affected and afflicted so many lives—including the police officers who investigated it, the lawyers who prosecuted it and the people like Roger Houle who continue to live with its tragic aftermath.

From the outset, the Yellowknife mass murders presented some unique challenges for investigation. The fatal explosion oc-

curred against the backdrop of a four-month strike at Giant Mine that turned ugly after its owners, Royal Oak Mines Inc., decided to maintain operations by hiring replacement workers—including some union members who crossed the picket line. Initially, police considered all 150 remaining strikers as suspects. Most were hauled in for interviews, many were subjected to lie detector tests, and about 30 of them had their homes wiretapped. Eventually, police zeroed in on two prime suspects: Tim Berger and Al Shering, a pair of union leaders who had been involved in earlier acts of sabotage and vandalism at the mine. For the better part of a year, Warren—who had been sent on the mine property on the morning of the explosion and who had failed miserably on the lie detector test—was considered, at best, the third suspect.

Then came a dramatic showdown in December, 1980, between Warren and Sgt. Gregg McMartin, an RCMP polygraph expert. After reviewing the numerous sworn statements on Warren's statements during earlier police interviews, McMartin became convinced that the 40-year-old hard-rock miner—known to his co-workers as "the Ace" because of his "pocket" perfectionism—had committed the murders. Under intense questioning, Warren finally confessed. He even agreed to retract the crime on the mine as videotape. But what seemed like an open-and-shut case took another strange

turn at Warren's trial last year when the accused revealed his confession. Warren claimed that he had been severely depressed at the time, that he suffered from sexual impotence and feared that he was dying of testicular cancer. He had confessed, he said, to help settle the strike—a barely defensible dispute that Warren blamed on Royal Oak president Peggy Wize, the first

ing for verbal sex. He knew that him and he could be convicted on a confession as easily as "I'm pretty sure," it might have been, and "I'm sure." They had to leave out the "proven" T. When describing their actions—which would put them in the middle of the story—and often speak in the present tense, they clearly became more making it up as they go along. Real memories, on the other hand, are generally told in simple language, as the first person and in the past tense. That is exactly how Warren spoke when he confessed.

*The Third Suspect* is marred by the authors' clumsy attempts to write as if inside the minds of their protagonists, and a tendency to slip into pulp journalism ("his strike was poised with dynamite and ready to blow"). They also fail to answer the most nagging questions of all: what drove Roger Warren, a hard worker, a hard worker, a hard worker, a hard worker, a hard worker, to commit one of the biggest mass murders in Canadian history?

But perhaps that is too much to expect. In his personal dealings, police interviews and trial testimony, Warren (who did not talk to the authors) proved resourceful, imaginative and open to introspection. In a rare chance, he once told a co-worker: "I like to talk, but I got no talk." Tragically, Warren lied about that, as well.

HERMAN HERGMAN

*The book offers  
fascinating examples  
of how police separate  
truth from lies*

mine owner in Canada since the 1880s to use strikebreakers.

In the end, Warren was caught in the tangled web of his own lies. He had changed the details of his lies too many times. And he had told police information about the crime that only they and the murderer could possibly know. In fact, *The Third Suspect* provides some fascinating glimpses into how the police try to separate truth from lies. For example, McMartin had combed through Warren's statements look-

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# Starring J. Chrétien in the role of a lifetime

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It is one of the great paradoxes of our time that Ronald Reagan was reviled for being "a Hollywood actor" who had somehow stumbled into the White House.

All successful politicians are actors. It is the nature of the beast. Churchill, with the cigar, the hoodlums, the two-fingered V for Victory sign, was the master of the state presence.

Jimmy Smith, the master spin doctor, pulling the strings behind Pierre Trudeau, once explained why the Opposition feared PTT so much. It was, said Smith, because they never knew what to expect each day in Question Period. One day, it would be the playful wit and sarcasm. The next day, the rigorous intellect. The next, stony silence. They never knew what actor would appear on what day.

And so it is with Jean Chrétien, the "little guy from Shawinigan" who—most Canadian voters who elected him will be surprised to learn—was a secret millionaire. Those on the outside have known it. The skill set as actor has kept the secret from Mrs. Shoggs in Moose Jaw.

It's a great Liberal tradition, the party that always paints the Tories as the representatives of the bulls. Maclean's King, while waiting to become the next minister, was in the United States working for the Rockefeller as among other things, a strike breaker with mine workers.

Paul Martin, the millionaire who in our finance minister trifling as we must put together for Canada and tighten our belts, wears his millions as his black tuxedo with a whispering whisper that registers his fleet of offshore yachts to avoid Canadian taxes.

Miranda Barlow, in her book *Straight Through the Heart*, details how Chrétien spent his casual years when he left politics and became John Tardieu, based in B. Mahoney and J. J. Clark. He became a helper at the venerable Lang Michener law firm and also a "special adviser" to Gordon Capital, the famed successor Bay Street house.



He also joined with Mitchell Sharp, his first political mentor, and Gordon Ritchie of NMTA expertise, in something called Sharpco, a consulting firm giving corporations advice on how to trade. (That would be the NMTA that Chrétien vowed to kill once he came to office.)

Among the little guy's directorships was the Toronto Dominion Bank and Victory Resources, a mining company with a major gold strike in California (owned—unproven—by Ross Perot's chairman of his B.C. political campaign).

With two associates, he paid \$1.25 million to buy the golf course in Shawinigan from Consolidated Bathurst, where he and his father once worked. Great savings? And great acting to conceal it from his own people?

The whole key to politics is acting. Peter C. Newman, in his new book *The Canadian Revolution 1982-1995: From Defiance to Defiance*, describes Mahoney as "the little

chief revolutionary." He describes how the PM, while trying to take Canadians with the other sweaters (and prisoners outside their March 14th parade), only revealed to the TV audience that he was wearing some Giorgio Armani creation that Mita had purchased for a fortune in New York.

The Shawinigan kid as answerer than that last year, there was a play and honey opening of something called the Guyana Rockaways on Toronto's Bay Street. Two young ladies in painted-on leotards with red down on ropes from the ceiling and the Prime Minister of Canada spoke.

"Why? I asked my husband, 'would it be at a thing like that?' She looked at me as if I were a jerk. I was. The head fundraiser for the event was the wife of Jimmy Connors, the Bay Street legend who headed the Gordon Capital brokerage house.

Lawrence Martin, in his new book *Chrétien: The Will to Win*, says that Chrétien's escape offered duties with Gordon Capital, along with Lang Michener & Co., brought him \$500,000 a year—topped off with his government pension of some \$60,000. The kid isn't done yet—and he's feeling ill of us.

Hudson Michael Ross, in his very readable look at our prime ministers, *Right Honourable Men*, tells of Sir Richard Clark, sitting Cliffridge when pulling up to the House of Commons in a carriage, and reminding us of a new Liberal MP. "Young man, do you note the display of affluence on the part of a minister so new and so young? Shall I tell you what Sir John A. would have me to see of his ministers if he'd appeared thus. Sir John A. would have said, 'My dear fellow it is bad enough to do it, but for heaven's sake don't advertise it.'"

Mahoney could not help but advertise it. It killed his bond with the Canadian public that had given him two successive majority governments.

Richard Nixon could never master the fakery of his private, preface personality, as his tapes revealed. He was not, in the end, a very good actor.

Jean Chrétien, the only man in the country who can speak either of the two official languages, as a master of disguising the fact he owned a golf course and is, by the fact of his daughter's marriage, connected to one of the two or three most powerful men in Canada, Paul Desmarais, and has only come in the Revolution money when he needs it.

To get out of a monetary collapse, he liked appendicitis and underwent surgery he didn't need. As his older brother says, "He was a good actor."

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